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U.S. Delegation in Moscow for Missiles Talks

LD0212180388 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Soviet and American delegations met in Moscow on December 1-2 to exchange views on the issue of non-proliferation of missiles and missile technology.

The U.S. delegation, led by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Vincent Decain, was received by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov.

The meeting was a follow-up to the discussions on that issue held in Washington on September 26.

Shultz Criticized for Krasnoyarsk Remarks

LD0412220788 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 5 TASS—Speaking on Sunday on a programme of the ABC TV company, U.S. State Secretary George Shultz said that very considerable changes had taken place in Soviet-American relations. While examining attentively the content of Soviet-American relations—arms control, regional problems, bilateral relations and human rights, noted Shultz, it becomes evident that the American-Soviet chances to settle both important and not so important problems have increased considerably and such a state of affairs tells on many other fields.

Touching on the question of chemical weapons, the U.S. state secretary said that President-elect George Bush was right saying that the possibility of proliferation and use of chemical and bacteriological weapons was one of the most serious threats.

During the interview exaggerated attention was again given to the Krasnoyarsk radar station, though its construction was frozen, and the Soviet Union suggested that an international centre for cooperation in the use of outer space for peaceful purposes be set up on its basis. Nevertheless, the head of the U.S. foreign office alleged that the radar station was a "violation" of the ABM Treaty. But he expressed the opinion that the sides could eventually resolve successfully the question on the Krasnoyarsk radar station.

Inspectors Arrive in Colorado To Scrap Missiles

LD0512091888 Moscow TASS in English 0754 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 5 (TASS)—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sitov.

A group of ten Soviet inspectors arrived at a U.S. Army base in the city of Pueblo, Colorado, on Sunday. Yet another batch of Pershing missile engines, which are subject to elimination under the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, will be scrapped there under the supervision of the Soviet military specialists.

The operation is to begin on Monday. The Colorado authorities gave consent to the elimination of six missile engines a day, weather permitting. Alan Kenitzer, a spokesman for the army base at Pueblo, has said a total of eighteen missile engines are to be destroyed there in the current month.

The elimination of the systems has been proceeding at the Longhorn Army Base in Texas since September 8, this year. Each Pershing missile has two engines. Under the INF Treaty, the USA should eliminate a total of 450 such missiles within two years.

The Soviet inspectors arrived at Pueblo from the Travis air base in California. They already visited the depot where missile engines are kept to mark those which are subject to elimination.

Such marking before the start of elimination makes it possible to see to it that precisely the designated systems get scrapped.

NATO Military Commission Ends Work 1 Dec

LD0212033188 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Text] Brussels December 1 TASS—NATO military committee session held within the framework of autumn meetings of the organization's higher policy-making bodies completed its work at NATO headquarters today.

Speaking at a press conference here, the committee's chairman General Wolfgang Altenburg (FRG) said that the chiefs of general staff of the NATO countries and commanders of regional forces had discussed matters relating to the strengthening of stability on the European Continent in the light of preparations for the forthcoming talks on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

He reiterated the well-known NATO position on the alleged considerable conventional armaments superiority of the Warsaw Treaty, something that, according to the general, required that the West maintain its defences at an appropriate level.

The session once again examined Bonn's proposal to form a joint NATO division made up of army units from West Germany, Britain, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The committee decided to establish a working group to study the matter. The group must submit a report to the NATO supreme decision-making bodies next autumn. Altenburg said the proposal related to the U.S. insistence on a reallocation of military expenditures between the allies within NATO.

The committee decided to continue to study the question of reducing the number of military exercises in West Germany and limiting NATO battle planes overflying that country's territory. West German representatives insist that must be done referring to the growing public outcry against many military exercises there.

UN Disarmament Commission Chairman Elected

LD0212145988 Moscow TASS in English 0836 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 2 TASS—The United Nations disarmament commission has elected Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire's ambassador at the United Nations [name and title as received], its chairman for 1989.

At its organizational meeting on Thursday, the commission approved the agenda of its work for next year.

It is planning to focus its activity on analyzing various aspects of the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, so that to contribute to negotiations aimed at averting the nuclear threat.

Turkey Blamed for Delay at Vienna Arms Talks

PM3011103788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 First Edition p 5

[Colonel I. Bogdanov article: "Stumbling Block in the Way of Talks on Conventional Arms in Europe"]

[Text] One of the most urgent problems for Europe is reducing the danger of military confrontation on the continent. Its solution requires above all a substantial reduction of armed forces and arms by the two military-political alliances—the North Atlantic bloc and the Warsaw Pact Organization.

The constructive position of the socialist countries, which are ready to implement on a mutual basis practical measures in this direction, is producing positive results at the Vienna consultations involving the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries at which the terms of reference are being formulated for future talks. Work on these terms of reference is now close to completion. The sides have agreed in principle that the talks on armed forces and conventional weapons will begin this year. But a stumbling block in the way of this is the question of the geographical zone of the reductions, or rather—Turkey's approach to resolving this problem. In particular, it concerns the Turkish leadership's desire to exclude from the zone of further reductions a significant area in the country's southeast where more than 100,000 troops are stationed and where hundreds of artillery weapons, tanks, aircraft, and helicopters are deployed. This approach is attributed to the unstable situation in the region and the danger which supposedly emanates from Turkey's neighbors.

It should be noted in this connection that publications about the notorious "Soviet military threat" appear repeatedly in the Turkish press. So, under the sensational title "Top-Secret Aggression Plan: Plans Published on Seizure of Turkey by the Soviet Union in the Event of War," a few days ago the right-wing newspaper TERCUMA carried a report about a London-published book called "The Red Flag: The Soviet Military System in War and Peace." Citing this book, the newspaper includes a map of Soviet strategic strikes against Turkey allegedly planned by the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. It notes that in a war the Soviet Navy will mine part of the Black Sea coast and Turkey's southern shores, and it shows industrial and military facilities "liable to be captured as a priority."

Fabrications of this kind are evidently meant to justify the measures taken by the Turkish command to reorganize their forces and redeploy some ground forces units and subunits to the region which could be excluded from the reduction zone. The newspapers GUNES and CUMHURIYET report that the Turkish Government has already decided to reorganize three individual gendarme brigades into border brigades, rearm them, and transfer them to the ground forces. Reports are also appearing that some armored units recently began redeploying to the city of Tatvan in eastern Anatolia, which in Ankara's opinion, ought to be in the region excluded from the reduction zone.

Measures of this nature should be assessed as nothing less than an attempt by the Turkish military leadership to withdraw from the calculation of the balance of forces in southern Europe as many forces as possible, so creating the illusion of equal proportions of forces in southern Europe (the NATO side has virtual superiority here) and so reduce its share of force and arms reduction.

In addition, Turkey is also examining the question of creating a system of territorial defense in the country, including the formation of local defense units and subunits resembling the U.S. National Guard. But is a new reserve component for Turkey's already large armed forces so essential today, when trust and security are being strengthened and Europe is switching to disarmament? Judge for yourselves. The Turkish Army, which according to the foreign press is the second-largest in NATO after the U.S. Army, has almost 600,000 men. Its ground forces have four deployed field armies combining 16 divisions, 22 separate brigades, 6 separate regiments, and numerous combat and material support units and subunits. From year to year many hundreds of modernized tanks, and also a large number of modern artillery and antiaircraft artillery systems and combat helicopters are coming into service. In other words, Turkey's existing combat potential is more than enough for defense purposes.

Evidently, the positive processes which have begun in Europe, have still not had very much influence on the strategic views of Turkey's military leadership or on the NATO bloc as a whole in that region. U.S.-Turkish military cooperation is expanding. Turkey is gradually turning into a U.S. outpost. There are around 60 U.S. military facilities, including nuclear weapons dumps, located on its territory. Nonetheless, new buildings for dumping U.S. nuclear ammunition continue to be built in Turkey—for example, in Anatolia.

All this makes it possible to conclude that the finalization of an agreement among the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on terms of reference for future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe is being complicated by Turkey's, frankly, strange approach to resolving this problem. How can one assess Turkey's supposed desire to hold talks to reduce armed forces and conventional weapons and at the same time increase its own armed forces?

One would like to hope that common sense and goodwill will nonetheless ultimately prevail in Ankara and that the delay in reaching agreement on the question of the reduction zone at the Warsaw Pact-NATO consultations in Vienna will not be used to create conditions for evading future accords on reducing forces and armaments.

Obninsk Institute Monitors Nuclear Blasts

LD0212141088 Moscow TASS in English 1321 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Researchers at the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Earth Physics believe that an international system for exchanging seismic information will help make control over nuclear weapons tests more efficient. Yesterday they, together with seismologists from the USA, Australia and Sweden, started an international experiment to check the functioning of the system's elements.

"An international data centre was set up in Obninsk at the Institute of the Earth Physics. It communicates with similar seismological centres in Washington (USA), Stockholm (Sweden) and Canberra (Australia) via the Swedish centre," Vladimir Ratushniy, technical head of the international experiment, told TASS. "One of the present-day tasks is to check computers which will process incoming information and agree the work schedules of work of centres in the USSR, the USA, Sweden and Australia, methods of decoding of various parameters of seismic signals." Vladimir Ratushniy said that on the Soviet side, three stations are participating in the experiment—in Aktyubinsk (Kazakhstan), Arti (Urals) and Obninsk (Tula region). "Early in 1989 we plan to start using a direct satellite link with all international data centres," he said. "Besides this, the Obninsk centre will receive and process information from national seismological centres in Turkey, Czechoslovakia and India."

The idea of establishing an international system emerged in the 1970s. In 1976-1987 a special group of experts at the Geneva Disarmament Conference worked out the scientific and technical principles of a system of international seismic data exchange.

Staff members of the Institute of the Earth Physics believe that the international system for exchanging seismic information can be used both for nuclear tests control and other scientific purposes. It can be used by researchers from various countries to conduct work on geology, seismic zoning and to study the geological structure of the earth's crust.

Petrovskiy 2 Dec News Conference in Moscow

PRAVDA Roundup

*PM0512085388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Meeting With Journalists"]

[Excerpt] A news conference for Soviet and foreign correspondents was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center in Moscow 2 December.

Next week M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will visit New York, where he will address the 43d UN General Assembly session 7 December, setting forth the Soviet leadership's views on the most important problems of world development. Journalists were told this by V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister.

The decision to address the General Assembly, he said, was dictated by our profound conviction that the United Nations is an irreplaceable mechanism in the quest for peaceful solutions to international issues, the defusing of conflicts and crises, and the settlement of other global problems. The Soviet Union notes with satisfaction the increased activeness of the United Nations and its organs recently.

We see the first-ever visit to the United Nations by the Soviet head of state—the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium—as a contribution to enhancing the prestige and abilities of this universal organization.

In New York M.S. Gorbachev will have talks with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and Argentine Foreign Minister D. Caputo, chairman of the 43d UN General Assembly session. The talks will undoubtedly enrich the sides with valuable experience of multifaceted cooperation, provide food for thought and conclusions, and promote the elaboration within the UN framework of generally acceptable solutions for the urgent problems of world politics.

During the time the Soviet head of state is participating in the session's work he will meet with the current and future U.S. presidents at the same time. We expect the business meeting with R. Reagan and G. Bush, the deputy minister stressed, to be an important component in the development of a fruitful Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

On this basis the Soviet leadership intends to place on the agenda for the New York talks important and significant issues of real political collaboration between the two countries on the widest range of problems, including the state of and prospects for further progress in the arms limitation and reduction sphere, human rights, the settlement of regional conflicts, and the development of bilateral relations.

The Soviet side intends, in particular, to continue a meaningful discussion of issues linked with the situation around Afghanistan, the situation in Central America, and the prospects for a Near East settlement. We advocate continuing the search for points of contact with regard to ways of normalizing the situation in all the world's "hot spots."

The state of affairs in Soviet-U.S. relations now opens up great opportunities for developing wide-ranging and detailed bilateral collaboration in a whole range of areas.

The USSR and the United States are faced with real problems whose resolution will determine the future of our relations, the security of our peoples, and the security of the entire world. That is why we believe it important to continue to develop a mutual realization of the need to maintain stability and predictability in Soviet-U.S. relations. We are prepared to do our bit to "substantiate" the concept of constructive continuity, which is often used in speeches by U.S. and Soviet representatives.

After his stay in New York, M.S. Gorbachev will pay an official friendly visit to Cuba to exchange views with F. Castro and other Cuban leaders on a wide range of international problems, as well as on questions of bilateral relations, which are based on commonality of social systems and the principles of mutual respect, sovereignty, independence, equal rights, and noninterference in internal affairs. This dialogue between the leaders of the USSR and Cuba is a continuation of the good tradition of summit-level contacts, during which experience of socialist building is exchanged and questions of the further development and deepening of all-around cooperation in line with the fundamental interests of both countries' peoples, and the coordination of their efforts aimed at strengthening comprehensive security for all are discussed.

We believe the Soviet-Cuban summit will be an important event in the lives of the two peoples and parties and will strengthen still further the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two countries.

Along with the meetings and talks with the Cuban leaders and representatives of the public there are visits planned to certain economic projects and scientific institutions.

On 12-14 December M.S. Gorbachev will pay an official visit to Britain, where talks will be held with British Prime Minister M. Thatcher. There will also be a meeting with Queen Elizabeth II. There will be meetings with British political and public figures and with representatives of business circles as well.

We see the official visit to Britain, V.F. Petrovskiy stressed, as an important new round in the political dialogue with the British leadership—a dialogue that has become intensive [nasyshchennyy] and systematic in nature. The importance of this dialogue goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations. Its positive influence is also felt in a broader international context, including the United Nations.

In talks with the British leadership we intend to compare the views of our countries on the fundamental problems of world politics, learn the way our interlocutors are thinking, and provide corresponding explanations on our side.

In conclusion, the USSR deputy foreign minister said, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that the Soviet head of state's participation in the work of the United Nations, his meetings with the current and future U.S. Presidents, and the subsequent official visits should not be viewed in isolation. A responsible and realistic policy in an interdependent world and the consolidation and deepening of the renewal process that is under way in world affairs requires parallel constructiveness in bilateral and multilateral avenues of international collaboration.

V.F. Petrovskiy and A.I. Vlasov, chairman of the board of APN, then answered journalists' questions on M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visits.

The USSR Foreign Ministry statement on Afghanistan was read out at the news conference. [passage omitted]

Afghan Conference Proposal

LD0212151288 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy, who read out the ministry's statement on Afghanistan at a briefing here today, made the following comments:

First. The proposal to hold an international conference on Afghanistan with U.N. assistance is, in our view, of exceptional significance from the standpoint of both the present and the future.

Its implementation should help completely consolidate and develop the positive content of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement in Afghanistan.

The conference could deal with a wide range of issues. Those of ensuring Afghanistan's neutrality and demilitarization are especially significant.

Second. The idea of the conference, which has been put forward by Najibullah, has many other sponsors in the international community, including India.

We see this as a reflection, first, of the awareness of the importance of an Afghanistan settlement to defusing conflicts and crisis in other parts of the world and, second, the recognition of the role of international mechanisms in the peaceful resolution of both the Afghanistan problem and other acute problems.

It is logical that a political settlement of the Afghan situation, which has been facilitated to a significant extent by the personal efforts of the U.N. secretary-general and the position of responsibility taken by participants in the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, demands further multilateral effort.

Third. Sharing Afghan President Najibullah's views about the conference, we are also prepared to carefully examine the opinions of other nations. We are prepared for a joint quest with others for the most rational format for the conference and the compostion of its participants.

It is very important, of course, that Afghanistan be represented at the conference by a broadly-based coalition government. The Afghan leadership is active working towards creating such a government.

And we hope that far from hampering the formation of a broadly-representative national accord government in Afghanistan, preliminary work to prepare the conference will only assist and expedite it.

Fourth. We plan together with Afghanistan to start the practical work of preparing and convening the conference. The Soviet mission in New York has been given corresponding instructions.

Hijacking Described

LD0212153488 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 2 TASS—"We regard history's first visit to the United Nations Organization by a head of the Soviet state—president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament)—as a contribution to enhancing the prestige and resources of the world body", said Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. He and Albert Vlasov, chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI Press Agency, spoke today at a news conference dealing with the forthcoming visits to New York, Havana, and London by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. When participating in the work of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, Mikhail Gorbachev will have a simultaneous meeting with the U.S. incumbent President and the President-elect, the deputy minister said.

Following his stay in New York, Mikhail Gorbachev will make an official friendly visit to Cuba, the deputy minister went on to say.

"We believe that the upcoming Soviet-Cuban meeting at summit level will become an important event in the life of the two peoples and parties and will strengthen the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two countries still further", he said.

"We regard Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to Britain on December 12-14" Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized, "as a new important round in the political dialogue with the British leadership, the dialogue which is acquiring a substantive, systematic character. The importance of the dialogue goes beyond the scope of bilateral relations. Its positive influence is being also felt within a broader international context, at the United Nations as well."

Albert Vlasov told journalists that Mikhail Gorbachev would be accompanied in the tour by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The USSR Foreign Ministry's statement setting out the Soviet Union's stand concerning the convocation of an international conference on Afghanistan, was read out at the news conference. Besides, it was announced that Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR and the ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan, leaves for Saudi Arabia by air on December 3 at the invitation of the country's government for a meeting with Burhanuddin Rabbani, representative of the Afghan opposition forces.

Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasized that the forthcoming meeting had no connection under the Geneva accords.

In answer to journalists' questions about the terrorists that had seized a bus with 30 schoolchildren and teachers in the area of the city of Ordzhonikidze, Albert Vlasov said the terrorists had demanded that they be provided with a plane. For the sake of rescuing the captured children and teachers, a plane had been provided for the terrorists. The hostages had been released and were feeling normally. The bandits stated their intention to leave the USSR, mentioning three countries in this respect: Israel, Pakistan, and the Republic of South Africa.

Petrovskiy Comments on Gorbachev Speech to UN

LD0212112788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0542 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov reports:

The upcoming address by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session is an indication of the significance the Soviet Union attaches to the United Nations as a unique and universal body of international cooperation, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, said in an interview with a TASS correspondent on the eve of the arrival of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in New York.

Question: How do you explain the important increase in the UN's role in world affairs?

Answer: This year the situation in the United Nations has changed sharply for the better. What is happening in the world community is called by different names: the resurrection of the United Nations, or a mini-renaissance of the organization. But whatever name is given to this process, it can be said with certainty that processes of renewal have started in the United Nations which are enabling it to be, to an ever greater extent, a center for agreeing to practical actions.

The fact that the United Nations is now actively involved in settling conflictual crisis situations, for example the Iran-Iraq war, and the Afghan and other problems, confirms this.

I think one would be quite right to think that the resurrection of the United Nations has to a large extent become possible thanks to an extensive Soviet program for transforming its activity. Its implementation has made it possible to breathe new life into the United Nations and put an end to the period of confrontation and fruitless rhetoric.

Question: What will Mikhail Gorbachev talk about from the lofty rostrum of the UN General Assembly?

Answer: The Soviet leader, as he said recently in the town of Orel, will use the UN rostrum to set out our view of the basic problems of current world development. The United Nations, by its very nature, is adapted to involve itself with global questions. If we take, for example, the very basic question of security, it would seem that it belongs to the (?eternal) category, but the approach to security today, with the conditions of the nuclear and space age, is radically different from the one existing in the prenuclear age, when the United Nations was established. Today this means not just security from war. The concept of security includes protection of the environment, ensuring the stability of international economic relations, and respect for human rights. In other words, security has become an all-embracing concept, and this requires an all-embracing approach to ensure it.

Question: Do you think the United Nations' potential is being fully utilized at the present time?

Answer: The mechanism of the United Nations probably requires improvement in some way. But before we get down to improving the mechanism, I believe that we must utilize to the full its existing possibilities. During the period of the "cold war", people simply forgot about them. This led to a situation where many United Nations mechanisms "rusted", because they were not brought into use.

Take a question like the peaceful settlement of disputes. The UN Charter contains a vast number of various forms and methods that could help to successfully deal with the settlement of conflict and crisis situations. Moreover, the UN Charter also contains clauses that allow a switch to a higher stage of interaction—from extinguishing hotbeds of crisis to preventive diplomacy. With this in mind the UN secretary general has been given the right to present his own initiatives at the Security Council, which, by the way, he had not been using. Different methods of action by the Security Council may also be used; for example, an itinerant session. If a conflict breaks out somewhere, or a tense situation builds, why should the Security Council not go and hold its session there?

In a word, one should take a new, fresh look at the UN Charter. Under present-day conditions, I can see the main task to be fully utilizing the existing charter. One must get away from the practice where people have attempted to seek from the charter only those clauses which suit a given country at a given time, while closing their eyes to other clauses.

Question: Do you think there are any "unfavorable" UN resolutions, in other words, those having clauses with which we do not agree?

Answer: All UN decisions should be carefully weighed by all governments. The very concept of an "unfavorable" resolution is an example of the old thinking. What does "unfavorable" mean? If we say that the world is interdependent, and if we say that one must take world public opinion into consideration, and we are accepting an international system of values, then we should respect world public opinion, too. How can it be favorable or unfavorable? If this decision does not in some respect conform with our policy, then all this means is that we must take a critical look at the policy itself.

I would say that this is a new approach. In today's interdependent world, politics should be oriented toward the recommendations of the UN General Assembly. They are not binding, but one should treat them with all responsibility, respecting the immense moral-political authority of these decisions. It is very difficult to get away from stereotypes. We have become accustomed to thinking that there are our interests, and also the interests of the international community. But how can we live in one common planetary home if we say that some rules of communal life exist for all its inhabitants, and others exist for ourselves. Surely one should take into consideration the opinion of the whole General Assembly, of all the inhabitants of this common planetary home.

Perez de Cuellar on Upcoming Gorbachev Speech

PM0412190388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "Perez de Cuellar: Soviet Union Provides Strong Support for United Nations. UN Secretary General Answers IZVESTIYA Questions"—date, place not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Next week M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, will visit New York, where he will address the 43d UN General Assembly session 7 December. On the eve of this event UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar kindly agreed to give an interview to IZVESTIYA's own correspondent A. Shalnev.

[Shalnev] For the first time in almost 30 years the top Soviet leader will address a UN General Assembly session. What importance do you attach to this, and what—in your view—is the importance of M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit?

[Perez de Cuellar] As far as I am aware it is not the first time in 30 years, but the first time ever that a Soviet head of state will have visited New York. And it is only the second-ever visit by the leader of the CPSU. We welcome this visit. It came as no surprise to me. On my last trip to Moscow I met with the general secretary and invited him to visit the United Nations, stressing how important it would be. I was exceedingly pleased when I was informed that the visit would take place. This is confirmation of the strong support which the Soviet Union gives the United Nations. Recent years have been particularly marked by the sharp intensification of this support in all spheres of UN activity—above all, political affairs.

Your country has always been particularly assiduous in seeing that the United Nations has been in the thick of initiatives on disarmament. The USSR has always used the UN forum to put forward its views on these initiatives.

Support has increased ever since Mikhail Gorbachev published an article stressing his conviction about the United Nations' importance as a forum for seeking solutions—peaceful solutions—to international problems, a little over a year ago.

[Shalnev] That article, published in IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA, contained a series of specific initiatives and proposals directly connected with UN activity. What is your assessment of those proposals?

[Perez de Cuellar] Without going into any particular detail, I recall that I supported most of the ideas put forward in the article. It is extremely important that the

Soviet Union did not just declare its intentions but accompanied them, for instance, with very significant financial efforts with a view to paying off the debts the United Nations was facing. The Americans also owe us a lot of money; they are promising to pay off their debts. Our Soviet friends are keeping their promises. And that is very important. The situation is now improving; the Americans have started paying off their debts, but the Soviet Union has presented us with a schedule [grafik] for paying off its debts, and this is exceptionally substantive for us.

[Shalnev] The very first meeting the Soviet leader will have at the United Nations will be with you. What questions would you like to discuss; what subjects would you like to raise?

[Perez de Cuellar] Out of respect for our guest we will leave the initiative to him and impose nothing ourselves. But there are many topics which I would be prepared to discuss with President Gorbachev, such as the Near East, Afghanistan, and Iran-Iraq, which are exceptionally important. I would very much like to hear the Soviet leader's opinion on these issues. That is why I await the upcoming meeting with impatience. And, of course, I am impatient to hear Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the General Assembly session—a speech which will provide a clear panorama of your international policy not only on political issues, but, I hope, on economic issues too.

[Shalnev] Over the past 2 years the United Nations has indeed turned into an effective tool for seeking peaceful solutions to highly acute international problems. This is largely explained by your personal efforts. The United Nations has indeed finally become just what its creators envisaged—an irreplaceable mechanism for settling crises and a tool for preserving peace. What are the organization's priorities in the immediate future?

[Perez de Cuellar] There has been progress on all problems: Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, the Western Sahara, southern Africa, Cyprus, Cambodia, Korea, and Central America. There has been progress everywhere. I mention those political problems which are being actively resolved by the United Nations. And, of course, we would like to be more active on the Near East question. I will be very interested to hear the ideas President Gorbachev will advance on the Near East. Then again I have only mentioned political problems. But there are economic problems too.

[Shalnev] The General Assembly has given you a personal mandate to secure a settlement in Afghanistan. What is your evaluation of the way the situation is shaping up?

[Perez de Cuellar] We are working on two avenues. The first is the implementation of the Geneva agreements. The process is moving forward, albeit with certain difficulties. I have had talks with the Soviet, Pakistani, Afghan, and U.S. sides. The situation now is considerably calmer and agreements are in the process of being fulfilled. The second avenue is somewhat more complex. National reconciliation in a country such as Afghanistan is a difficult matter. But we are working quietly and are in contact with the Afghan Government and the Afghan mujahidin. We have contacts with the Soviet Union, Pakistan, the United States, and other countries sincerely interested in a settlement. We hope that, with the goodwill of all sides, we will find the solution needed to bring peace to Afghanistan. Then the process of rebuilding and restoring Afghanistan will have to start. Your country has been very generous in promising $600 million in aid to Afghanistan. It seems to me that the Soviet Union has thereby set a very good example which, I hope, other developed countries will follow.

[Shalnev] The General Assembly's First Committee completed its discussion the other day on the question of comprehensive security. This is not the first time that the General Assembly has tackled this question. How do you assess the situation this year compared with debates in the past?

[Perez de Cuellar] Substantial progress has been achieved and I hope that this trend will be consolidated. I must say that I am very grateful to your country for the initiatives linked with peacekeeping operations. This is an exceptionally positive phenomenon. You stress the importance of expanding and strengthening the role of such operations and you are making practical efforts to that end. You not only make promises, you keep them. If all goes well we will soon launch an operation in southern Africa in which over 10,000 people will take part. The scale of our operations will thus double. Literally yesterday, I got a letter from the foreign ministers of the Central American states. They ask what help we can provide in controlling noninterference in the region. You must also consider the Western Sahara. In all, there could be 40-45,000 people taking part in UN operations by the middle of next year. That is something incredible. How will we cope with it?

[Shalnev] That, as it happens, is my last question: How will you cope, bearing in mind the United Nations' financial difficulties?

[Perez de Cuellar] There are two ways of coping: either through voluntary contributions (but, unfortunately, this is not a very workable system) or by mandatory deductions. One or the other form, or both, could be used if we are talking, for instance, about operations in Namibia. These operations are such a noble undertaking that, I hope, all countries will be generous.

Spokesman on Pakistan, Argentina, Afghanistan

LD0512151388 Moscow TASS in English 1459 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Benazir Bhutto's appointment as Pakistani premier is seen in the Soviet Union as evidence of democratic change in Pakistan, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, a deputy chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, was commenting on the appointment of Bhutto at a briefing.

Bhutto is leader of the Pakistan People's Party which has won the greatest number of seats at that country's National Assembly at general elections.

The Soviet spokesman reiterated his country's desire to develop Soviet-Pakistani relations in a spirit of mutually beneficial cooperation as befits good neighbours, for the benefit of the people of the two countries and in the interest of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

Perfilyev said the Soviet public has been concerned about an attempted military putsch in Argentina, which has encroached upon the Constitution and democratic gains in that country.

"We are far from interfering in the domestic affairs of Argentina but we would like at the same time to express solidarity with broad sections of its people in their desire to resolve national problems on the basis of the principles of democracy and legality, rebuffing actions designed to undermine the constitutional order in their country," he said.

The spokesman said that representatives of the U.N. mission of good offices in Afghanistan and Pakistan have not been able to draw a conclusion based on verbal notes by Islamabad which has accused Afghanistan of using heavy guns to shell its territory, violating Pakistani air space and staging air raids.

He explained that after making spot checks, quizzing eye witnesses and analyzing official data the mission's representatives have not found any sufficient proof that Afghan armed forces are responsible for the facts cited by Pakistan.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman debunked a recent claim by U.S. National Security Adviser Colin Powell who has described the idea of building a "common European home" as a bid to drive a wedge between Western Europe and the United States.

Perfilyev said that this idea, which has won increasing understanding in the capitals of leading European countries, embraces the United States and Canada as equal builders of the "common European home".

So the Soviet Union is far from claiming the role of the "landlord" or the "sole architect" of such a home, he said.

"Its creation presupposes a joint quest and a pooling of efforts of all the European countries and also the United States and Canada as permanent participants in the CSCE process," Perfilyev added.

Switzerland To Grant Visa to PLO's 'Arafat

LD0312153988 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Geneva December 3 TASS—Switzerland will have no problems with issuing an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, so that he could address the session of the U.N. General Assembly on the Palestinian question, said today Peter Wogler, a spokesman of the Swiss Foreign Ministry.

In the past two years Switzerland issued three times an entry visa to 'Arafat for his participation in various international conferences held in Geneva, and it sees no reason why this practice should be changed, said the Foreign Ministry spokesman in an interview with journalists.

According to available information in Switzerland, noted Wogler, nothing should prevent the debate on the Palestinian question from shifting from New York to the European headquarters of the United Nations.

The U.N. General Assembly is known to have been forced to shift the debate on the Palestinian question at its 43rd session from the New York headquarters to its Geneva office on December 13-15. It took this decision due to the refusal of the host country to give an entry visa to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for his speech at the General Assembly. The decision on shifting the debate has no precedent in the U.N. history.

The General Assembly adopted a resolution on Friday, expressing a regret that the host country did not respond positively to its appeal to observe strictly the provisions of an agreement with the U.N. on its headquarters, to review and repeal a decision denying a visa to 'Arafat. The resolution was voted on by 154 states, only two against (USA and Israel) and one abstained (Britain).

Addressing a press conference at the U.N. Headquarters, Clovis Maksoud, permanent observer of the Arab League to the U.N., assessed the decision by the General Assembly as a denunciation of the position taken by the U.S. authorities which had violated international legal obligations, their policy deeply hostile to the interests of Arab peoples and the cause of peace in the Middle East. He noted that the foreign ministers of Arab states planned to come to Geneva to raise the level of the debate on the problem of key importance for a Mid-East settlement. The chairman of the PLO Executive Committee will have a chance to set out the position of Palestinian people at the General Assembly and to inform the international community of the recent decisions of the Palestinian National Council aimed at fulfilling General Assembly resolutions on this problem and those of Security Council 242 and 338 and at settling peacefully the Palestinian and Mid-East problem.

Nicaraguan Delegation Denied U.S. Visas

LD0512094288 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Managua December 5 TASS—The United States is hampering the trip to New York by the Nicaraguan official delegation which is led by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega to attend the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly, spokesmen for the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry said.

The U.S. State Department used all kinds of far-fetched pretexts to refuse visas to most members of the official Nicaraguan delegation, including a number of ministers. Permission to enter the United States was also denied to the Nicaraguan journalists who were to cover the visit by the Nicaraguan leader to New York. The programme of the visit by the Nicaraguan leader to the United States also includes meetings with various politicians aimed at finding a way of establishing peace in Nicaragua and the entire Central American region.

Visas granted to the Nicaraguan President and another five members of the delegation are expiring today. The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry spokesmen said the Nicaraguan president would not travel to New York if the American authorities failed to issue visas to all members of the official delegation.

This is not the first case when the U.S. State Department disrupted the normal work of the Nicaraguan official delegation at the session of the U.N. General Assembly. Nearly a month ago the Nicaraguan president had to put off his visit to the U.N. headquarters in a similar situation created by American authorities.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit to U.S.

Gorbachev To Address UN 7 Dec

LD0212132488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] New York—United Nations—December 2 (DPI-UN)—It has been confirmed that the visit to the United Nations by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union will take place next Wednesday, December 7.

A United Nations official said that on his arrival at U.N. Headquarters in New York shortly after 10 a.m., Mr. Gorbachev would meet with Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and with the president of the General Assembly, Dante Caputo of Argentina. He is expected to address the assembly at about 11 a.m. [1600 GMT].

This will be the first visit to the United Nations by a Soviet leader since 1960, when the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, addressed the General Assembly.

'Tremendous Interest' in Speech

LD0312003488 Moscow TASS in English 2353 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 3 TASS—TASS correspondents Mikhail Kochetkov and Vyacheslav Chernyshov report:

For the first time ever the head of the Soviet state is coming to the U.N. and will address the General Assembly. The visit provokes tremendous interest at the U.N. Headquarters, Francois Giuliani, official representative of the U.N. secretary general, has told TASS correspondents. In the past two years and especially after the publication of Mikhail Gorbachev's article 'Reality and Guarantees of a Safe World' it became obvious that the Soviet leader regarded the U.N. as one of the pillars of the Soviet foreign policy. This evokes at the U.N. great satisfaction and interest, since Gorbachev is one of the world leaders who renders extensive support for the U.N. Giuliani said that they were looking forward to his setting forth the Soviet foreign policy on key international problems.

The representative of the U.N. secretary general pointed out that the participation of the Soviet leader in the work of the General Assembly acquired special importance because the U.N. is now acting more energetically, especially in the settlement of international conflicts and the peace-keeping process in explosive areas. This year witnessed a number of U.N. accomplishments in this sphere.

He told TASS about a great interest of the world press in the coming speech of Gorbachev which, according to the U.N. Public Information Department, would bring about the unprecedented inflow of journalists to the U.N. Headquarters. Today, several days before Gorbachev's speech, over 1,000 journalists from various countries applied for accreditation, not counting a large press corps permanently accredited at the U.N. The number of journalists is growing, which, naturally, creates a lot of problems with their accomodation and the ensurance of good working conditions. Those problems began to be tackled as soon as the U.N. learned about the coming visit of the Soviet leader.

The journalists will be given two big conference halls that are usually used for sessions of the main committees of the U.N. General Assembly.

One of them will be given specially to the Soviet delegation for holding briefings and press conferences, Giuliani said. The Soviet press centre opens on Saturday.

The other conference hall is intended for representatives of international mass media organs, including Soviet journalists. They will broadcast live Gorbachev's speech, and not only in Russian, but also in English, accompanied by simultaneous translation. A text of the speech will be circulated in Russian and translated into other languages. The public information department that tends to journalists who are permanently accredited at the U.N. will arrange it.

Gorbachev's visit and a planned meeting of Raisa Gorbachev with Marcela Perez de Cuellar, all the most important moments of their stay at the U.N. headquarters will be covered by U.N. and Soviet television, Giuliani continued. Within his memory, it is the first time the U.N. headquarters are getting prepared for the arrival of so many tv journalists from other countries who are bringing with themselves tv equipment for satellite communication. The European Broadcasting Union alone is sending 250 people. Such a great interest is unprecedented in the history of the U.N., Giuliani said in conclusion.

Expectations of Visit Examined

LD0312035988 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] On Wednesday after a statement at the United Nations General Assembly in New York Mikhail Gorbachev is to meet President Reagan and President-elect Bush. What results can we expect and what positions do our two nations hold with regard to bilateral relations?

Mikhail Gorbachev said recently that the world wouldn't change if Soviet-American relations did not improve. That is the responsibility carried by our two nations.

This should lead politicians to conclude that Soviet-United States relations require energetic actions. Our two nations, the Soviet leader said, have begun meeting each other halfway, getting rid of biases and mistrust, trusting each other more and comparing each other's values. Mikhail Gorbachev underscored the special significance of promoting Soviet-United States trust. Better relations, he said, can be built on trust alone.

The Soviet leader favored preserving continuity in dealing with the United States, saying that it is in the interests of both nations. He stands for a dialogue that would be based on understanding and fresh ideas, rather than confrontation and reproach. A dialogue of this kind, he believes, breeds trust which turns into a factor of progress in all fields. We have a stock of constructive proposals, said the Soviet leader at his Kremlin meeting with President Mitterrand of France last week. We believe, he said, next year the Soviet Union and the United States can sign a treaty to cut by half their strategic offensive arms. The existing problems can be tackled in principle.

A few days before, in a message of greetings to George Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out this country was ready to continue mutually beneficial cooperation with the United States.

In the run-up to the New York meeting the American side also is saying it wants further dialogue. The United States policies right now bear the stamp of the transition to a new administration. Although officials are calling for prudence, President-elect Bush has found it necessary to remark this should not be taken as a lack of wish on his part to press for better relations with the Soviet Union. He told a news conference in Washington he would have an opportunity to say this to Mikhail Gorbachev in New York. Since America needs some time to outline its position, he said, it will indicate to the Soviet Union that it is still willing to make progress without any hurry.

What makes the political situation in the United States stand out on the threshold of yet another top level American-Soviet meeting is the wish to promote relations with the Soviet Union. It is significant that both presidential candidates said they wanted more agreements with the Soviet Union. But that doesn't mean to say that extreme right politicians have stopped trying to hinder American-Soviet relations. On the contrary, they are building up pressure on George Bush, hoping to forestall the search for more agreements.

As THE WASHINGTON POST said, the New York rendezvous is the hardliners' headache. But the hardliners are losing ground. The latest Gallup poll shows 76 per cent of Americans firmly believe that the Soviet Union wants peace and its government will carry on a policy of friendship and neighborly relations with other nations. More people in the United States call for invigorating talks with the Soviet Union at the New York summit.

Professor Stephen Cohen of Princeton University has told NATION magazine that if an end is to be written to the Cold War and if American-Soviet relations are to become safer, bold leadership on both sides is required. The professor points out the time is ripe for efforts of this kind if the new American President meets Mikhail Gorbachev halfway.

Press Center Opens at UN

LD0412102388 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

A Soviet press centre opened at the U.N. headquarters on Saturday in view of the forthcoming visit by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to New York to address the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The forthcoming event arouses an immense interest among media people all over the world many of whom have already arrived here to cover it.

Several hundred journalists gathered in one of the UNO's major conference halls specially alloted for the Soviet delegation.

Taking part in the Soviet delegation's first news conference were academician Oleg Bogomolov, Ivan Laptev, editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA newspaper, Nail Bikkenin, editor-in-chief of the KOMMUNIST journal, Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the Board of the Writers' Union of the USSR and Mark Zakharov, chief regisseur of Moscow's Leninskiy Komsomol Theatre. The news conference was declared open by Nikolay Yefimov, deputy director of the Soviet press centre at U.N. He said the subject of the news conference would be perestroyka in the USSR.

The participants in the news conference described vast changes taking place in the Soviet Union and affecting all spheres of Soviet people's life, the problems which the restructuring process encounters and what response they arouse among Soviet people, and how the arising questions are tackled and difficulties overcome.

They touched upon the information explosion which involved all Soviet mass media when the circulation of newspapers and magazines increased over the past one or two years several-fold at times, which brought about problems concerning the provision of paper.

Answers and questions dealt with various aspects of life in the Soviet Union, with the problems that arise in relations between republics and with how they are tackled and how the country's population reacts to the reforms being effected, and what role is now played in Soviet society by mass media. The participants in the news conference expressed their opinions about ways of perestroyka in the USSR, the overcoming of difficulties in the implementation of the economic reform, and about inertia and tenacity of the old way of thinking which still manifest themselves quite often.

In answer to the question concerning Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to the United Nations and the upcoming meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush, Nikolay Yefimov said the reserves of the Soviet Union's constructive initiative were large enough and that one should wait only for several days to learn about them.

In answer to the question about arising problems in relations between the republics, Ivan Laptev said that all the existing problems now are brought up openly and widely discussed at all levels, including the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament), while the results of the latest session of the top legislative body of the country indicate that a common solution can always be found.

"On the strength of glasnost we want to make our society freer and more open", pointed out Nail Bikkenin. "This will promote better mutual understanding between Soviet and American peoples as well."

Reagan Address on Summit Cited

LD0312233488 Moscow TASS in English 2319 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 4 TASS—The forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in New York inspires hope of further peace, President Ronald Reagan said in his traditional radio address Saturday.

"I'll be getting together next Wednesday on Governors Island with the leader of the Soviet Union, Chairman Gorbachev," Reagan said.

"This will be our last such meeting, and I must admit that I would not have predicted after first taking office that someday I would be waxing nostalgic about my meetings with Soviet leaders."

The President said there is "real oportunity" for a new era in international relations.

"That isn't to say, of course, that that era is already upon us. No, too many fundamental differences on matters such as human rights and regional tensions remain unsettled between East and West.

"But it is to say that there is the hope of an era in which the terrible nightmares of the post war era, totalitarianism and nuclear terror may diminish significantly and, please God, some day fade away," Reagan said. The President noted that the Soviet Union and the United States had achieved "progress on a wide series of fronts". He mentioned first of all the intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty.

"We have signed the first treaty in history reducing nuclear armaments—indeed wiping out a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles," Reagan said.

He noted progress at arms control talks, in efforts to settle regional conflicts and in the area of human rights.

"In our bilateral relations with the Soviets, there has been movement toward wider exchanges between our two peoples that bring American and Soviet citizens in closer contact and communication."

The President said the journey toward better Soviet-American relations has been, and will remain, a difficult one.

He noted, however, that "it is a journey that must continue beyond any single president or term of office".

The President said he was particularly delighted that President-Elect Vice President George Bush will take part in the summit.

Reagan said "no one is better versed in the details of Soviet-American relations" than Bush.

Powell Comments on Visit

LD0312110988 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 3 TASS—President Reagan and Vice-President Bush recently elected the 41st President of the United States are "looking forward to the meeting" with General Secretary Gorbachev in New York, Colin Powell, assistant to the president for national security affairs said in Washington on Friday [2 December].

Speaking at a briefing at the White House, he said one more meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev offered another opportunity to stress the existing stable relations.

Speaking on arms control issues, Powell made it clear that the American side regards the meeting as a further chance to ensure continuity in U.S.-Soviet discussions on the issue.

"We are watching the implementation of the INF Treaty, which is going rather well", he said in particular. "In START, we will examine where we are as we come to the close of this administration, and what steps the vice president might be ready to take when he takes over in January. At least in a general sense, we will talk about the outstanding issues that have to be dealt with."

Asked about the President's reflections about the distance travelled in the U.S.-Soviet relationship over the last seven years, Powell said: "I think the President has every reason to be proud of the progress that has been made over the last several years, and I am sure he will convey that to the general secretary."

"And I am sure he will indicate to the general secretary that what we have accomplished together over the last three years will be built upon by Vice President Bush.

"I think you all may have seen some of the polling information lately that shows that 85 percent of the American people believe that our relationship with the Soviet Union is excellent at this time and improving."

Powell said that if the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party had some new proposals or ideas "that we had not heard before, we will certainly listen carefully, respond, or take them under advisement, as the case may be."

Addressing regional issues, the presidential national security assistant said there had been some progress in some areas, such as Afghanistan, Angola and Kampuchea, which has contributed to the present upturn in East-West relations.

He said there had been "a great deal of progress in all of the bilateral areas that we have discussions with the Soviets, such as in cultural, scientific, environmental and educational areas, as well as people-to-people exchanges".

Bessmertnykh Receives U.S. Ambassador Matlock

LD0412111688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1056 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 4 December (TASS)—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, Saturday received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR. They discussed some specific questions regarding Soviet-U.S. relations.

Gorbachev Sends Message to Youth Forum

PM0312145988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

["Text" of Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greetings to the Soviet-American Youth Forum in Philadelphia: "To the Forum of Soviet and American Young People"]

[Text] I greet you all, the emerging replacement of those who bear responsibility now, at this turning-point of history, for what sort of a world community we will have at the turn of the 21st century.

Your forum is in itself a sign of concrete changes toward the better in this world of ours. It appears we are, indeed, nearing an understanding that, irrespective of the existing dissimilarity of social and state systems, man, no matter where he lives, remains man—the greatest and chief value of civilization, probably the sole one in the entire universe. And if the USSR and the United States do not stray away from the jointly mapped out course, they will be able to make a very weighty contribution to such a realistic and creative self-cognition of humankind.

To address young people means to establish contact with the future. You are to continue history, to write its new pages and chapters. The burden and duty of ruling out the possibility of it being ever again written by sword and yoke is going over to you. But already today it is necessary and useful that you take part in international affairs as an influential force of public opinion and people's diplomacy. Who else but you, who are not so burdened by fears and myths of the "cold war" and confrontation, should advance ideas that had never before been voiced by anyone, should argue over close and distant perspectives, without hiding your doubts, but also without weary skepticism? It has always been that way—young people had discovered the great truths of their respective epochs.

You, the American and Soviet youth leaders, are given a chance to compare and mutually enrich your knowledge, collate your ideas about the present and the future, think over jointly the ways to react to the formidable challenges of our times, to make optimal use of the potential, accumulated over centuries, particularly in our tragic and dynamic epoch. To hold the initiative in this search is a truly breathtaking, but also exceedingly responsible task. I wish success to those who undertake it.

I wish the forum participants good health, realism in their analysis, and daring in their designs, energy and ability to work together for the sake of world peace and mutual understanding among the peoples.

[Signed] Mikhail Gorbachev

Bush Outlines Foreign, Domestic Policies

LD0212152588 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Washington December 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

President-elect George Bush met with "Knight-Ridder newspapers" reporters and editors on Thursday and outlined the major foreign and domestic policy directions of the incoming U.S. Administration.

Bush, who will take part in the upcoming meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan in New York said: "...my approach is to build on what we have accomplished, and yet. I have to use the word 'caution'. And that doesn't mean that there won't be forward progress in the months ahead because I do think the policies pursued by our administration over the past eight years, and the President's personal relationship with Mr. Gorbachev has led to a period of unprecedented possibility. But, what I want to do, whether it's in arms control or human rights or settling regional disputes—any other aspect of the relation—is to move cautiously. And I want to take a fresh look. I want to get my own national security and arms control team in place, move at my own pace, establish my own priorities."

"I don't see... that that will do anything—that that will in any way deter from the good relationship (with USSR) we have now. I want to build on it."

"We will move forward with an arms control agenda. I'd like to see those conventional talks moved up. I am committed to trying to get rid of chemical and biological weapons," Bush said.

Asked to comment on the recent statement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that the cold war was over, Bush said: "We're talking (with the Soviet Union) and (are) reasonably close together on how we reduce the strategic weapons. So I don't think that would have been possible in the days of the quote 'cold war' unquote."

Asked if the new administration would address the situation in some Soviet republics and make it part of U.S. foreign policy. Bush said: "Those are their (Soviet) internal affairs. About the only time they concern others is when there are violations of the Helsinki Accords."

Among domestic policy concerns Bush named the need to reduce the federal budget deficit, improve the education system, boost labour productivity and U.S. competitiveness in the world market and improve the environment.

Report on Launching of 'Spy Satellite' Noted

LD0412120488 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] New York December 4 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kikilo: The U.S. space shuttle Atlantis flew into the second day of its military mission with the crew of five. The flight is surrounded with secrecy since it is conducted under the Pentagon programme.

As agreed with the Department of Defence, the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) maintains a strict information blackout on the second shuttle flight after the Challenger disaster in 1986.

AP news agency reports from the mission control centre in Houston, Texas, that according to available information, the astronauts put into an orbit a top-secret spy satellite capable of scanning most of the Soviet Union's territory, peering through darkness and cloud cover. The U.S. press reported that the information gleaned by the satellite code-named lacrosse was necessary to help the new B-2 stealth bomber find targets on Soviet territory.

The Atlantis's all-military crew will perform several experiments, among them test an optical device that resembles hand-held binoculars. These tests, according to AP, will be coordinated with ground exercises that could include troop maneouvres, naval movements or ballistic missile launches.

The Atlantis is expected to land at Edwards airforce base in California on Monday or Tuesday.

China

Further Reportage on Visit by Qian Qichen

Foreign Ministers Meet

LD0212183188 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen, in Moscow on an official visit, continued talks today.

The ministers gave special attention to analysing the current state and prospects of Soviet-Chinese relations.

They expressed mutual satisfaction with the improved relations in the past years.

Mutually beneficial cooperation in the trade, economic, scientific, technological and cultural spheres is being established on a long-term contractual basis.

Trade links between border areas are dynamically expanding and contacts along the line of public organisations are deepening.

Both sides expressed the desire to move towards broader ties and exchanges and more active use of available reserves.

The talks now under way on border issues were positively assessed. Certain results were already achieved in the talks.

Views were expressed on ways of lessening military confrontation along the Soviet-Chinese border.

In this connection Shevardnadze explained the essence of the Soviet defence doctrine.

The ministers expressed confidence that the complete normalisation of Soviet-chinese relations would help improve the overall international climate and the entire system of international relations in the Asia-Pacific region and the world at large.

Gorbachev, Qian Qichen Confer

PM0312191588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in the Kremlin 2 December.

The talks participants exchanged views on the present state and prospects of Soviet-Chinese relations.

We are satisfied on the whole with the development of cooperation in various spheres of life, Gorbachev stressed. But we believe that this is only a beginning.

The fact that our two great peoples are now marching along the road of transformation and reform is an important additional factor in favor of developing Soviet-Chinese relations.

Qian agreed that a favorable atmosphere was now taking shape for the further development of Soviet-Chinese ties.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and China are now facing complex tasks of restructuring and reform, and it was important that the two countries establish relations of a new type.

The Chinese minister asked Gorbachev's opinion of this account.

I accept the formula, came the reply. I think that our vital interests are not contradictory, while cooperation has good chances both from the viewpoint of domestic requirements, the tasks of modernization tackled by the two countries, and from the international viewpoint.

As two neighboring socialist states, the Soviet Union and China have broad opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of science and technology, for the exchange of experience and development of ties along the line of public organizations in the sphere of culture, youth, and tourist exchanges.

In brief, the point at issue is creating a live fabric of relationship.

As to international politics, it is natural that each country also acts independently, in keeping with its interests.

At the same time, we stand for extensive consultations, mutual information, and exchange of views.

On turning to these issues, the interlocutors stated that there were as yet many dangers in the world connected with the accumulation of nuclear weapons, ecological problems, acute needs for development and overcoming the technology gap, and so on.

The sense of anxiety, constantly growing around the world, has spread not only to the public, but also to political circles, and led to the confidence in the need for altering and improving the international situation.

Issues of improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region were discussed. We want to be understood correctly, M.S. Gorbachev stressed. The Soviet Union has no intention of encroaching upon anyone's interests in the region. We are conducting an open, honest policy and are advancing goals which, in our opinion, meet the interests of all states in the region.

The Chinese foreign minister raised in this connection the question of removing such a "hot" spot as the conflict situation relating to Cambodia. This would meet the interests of China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and the Cambodian people themselves, and would contribute to strengthening peace and stability in the region, he said. China and the Soviet Union could make their contribution to that.

The Soviet leader agreed to that assessment, noting that, in our opinion, there was a basis for bringing the solution of the problem into the concluding stage. As far as we know, a similar constructive spirit marks the stance of the Vietnamese comrades and the leadership of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. A dialogue between China and Vietnam could play an important role.

The discussion also touched upon the issue of prospects for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

The Soviet leader described at Qian's request the results of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet that launched a reform of the political system, and familiarized the guest with the future plans for developing economic and political transformation.

It was noted in the conversation that the leaders of the USSR and China were now considering having a summit meeting. Both sides attached great importance to it.

A meeting of that dimension calls for thorough preparations, part of which is the current visit by the Chinese foreign minister to the Soviet Union and the forthcoming visit to the PRC by the Soviet foreign minister.

As to a possible date for the summit, it could probably take place in the first half of the next year.

Qian Qichen conveyed a cordial greeting from the Chinese leaders to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the members of the Soviet leadership.

Taking leave of his guest, Comrade Gorbachev in his turn asked Qian Qichen to convey his personal very best wishes to Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, and other Chinese leaders and also those of his colleagues.

Comrade Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and ussr foreign minister, took part in the conversation, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Further on Meeting

OW0412023488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Friends, Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received Qian Qichen, the PRC foreign minister, at the Kremlin on 2 December. The participants in the talks exchanged views on the present state of Soviet-Chinese relations and the prospects for their development. Gorbachev pointed out emphatically: We are satisfied on the whole with the development of cooperation in various spheres of life, but we believe that this is only a beginning. The fact that the people of our two great countries are now marching along the road of transformation and reform is an important additional factor favorable to further development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Qian Qichen agreed that a favorable atmosphere was now taking shape for the further development of Soviet-Chinese ties. He said: The peoples of China and the Soviet Union are facing complex tasks of reform, and it is important that the two countries establish relations of a new type.

The Chinese foreign minister asked Gorbachev for his opinions on this subject.

Gorbachev answered: I accept this formula. I think that our vital interests are not contradictory and that cooperation has a good chance on the basis of domestic requirements, the tasks of modernization being tackled by the two countries, and the international viewpoint. As two neighboring socialist states, the Soviet Union and China have broad opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of science and technology and for the exchange of experiences and development of ties along the line of public organizations in the sphere of culture, youth, and tourist exchanges. In brief, the point at issue is creating a living fabric for the relationship. As to international politics, it is natural that each country acts independently, in keeping with its interests. At the same time, we believe in extensive consultations, mutual information, and the exchange of views.

Turning to these issues, the interlocutors stated that there were many dangers in the world connected with the accumulation of nuclear weapons, ecological problems, acute developmental needs, and overcoming the technology gap, among others. The sense of anxiety constantly growing around the world has spread not only to the public, but also to political circles, and has led to the conviction that there is a need for altering and improving the international situation.

Both sides discussed the issue of improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. Gorbachev stressed: We want to be understood correctly; that is, the Soviet Union has no intention of encroaching upon anyone's interests in this region. We are conducting an open, honest policy and are advancing goals which, in our opinion, meet the interests of all states in the region.

In this connection, the Chinese foreign minister raised the question of eliminating the hot spots contributing to the conflict in Cambodia. He said: Eliminating the hot spots will be in the interests of China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Cambodia itself, and will contribute to strengthening peace and stability in the region. China and the Soviet Union could make a contribution to this.

The Soviet leader agreed to the assessment. He pointed out: From the Soviet viewpoint there is a basis for concluding the problem. As far as we know, a similar constructive spirit marks the stance of the Vietnamese comrades and the Chinese leadership. A dialogue between China and Vietnam could play an important role.

The discussion also touched upon the issue of prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Afghanistan problem.

At Qian Qichen's request, Gorbachev described the latest session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which set off a reform of the Soviet political system, and familiarized the guest with the future plans for continued economic and political reform.

It is noted that in the talks the Soviet and Chinese leaders are now considering having a summit meeting. Both sides attached great importance to it.

Such a meeting calls for thorough preparations, part of which is the current visit by the Chinese foreign minister to the Soviet Union and a return visit to China by the Soviet foreign minister.

As to a possible date for the summit, it could probably take place in the first half of next year.

Qian Qichen conveyed to Gorbachev and other members of the Soviet leadership the cordial regards of the Chinese leadership.

Before departing with the Chinese guest, Gorbachev asked him to convey to Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Yang Shangkun, Li Peng, and other Chinese leaders his personal best wishes and the best wishes of his colleagues.

Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, was present at the meeting, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Qian Qichen News Conference

LD0312153088 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen described as successful his visit to the USSR. Speaking at a news conference here today, he said talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and meetings with Eduard Shevardnadze focused on a wide range of issues: Chinese-Soviet relations and world affairs. "But key issues included Kampuchea and normalisation of relations between China and the Soviet Union," Qian Qichen said.

In the course of the talks, the minister continued, mutual understanding has deepened on many issues and points of contacts increased. But questions which called for further discussion have remained. "Therefore I invited my counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze to visit China early next year to continue our talks."

Qian Qichen noted that both sides considered it necessary to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit and were ready to start preparations already now so that it could take place in the first half of 1989. He saw this as one of the main outcomes of the visit.

Asked about the possibility of holding the summit before the final settlement of the Kampuchean problem, the Chinese minister said the summit could take place even if certain differences remained in the positions of the sides.

Sharing his impressions from the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, the Chinese foreign minister said that the Soviet leader set about the pace of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. "I've got an impression," he stressed, "that normalisation of relations between the USSR and China was part and parcel of the entire process of restructuring Soviet foreign policy on the basis of the principles of new thinking."

The minister noted that a boost to border trade and joint development of the Soviet Far East held out much promise for Chinese-Soviet cooperation in the trade and economic field. Cooperation here could involve setting up joint ventures and supplying labour.

In reply to a question about the prospects for bilateral relations, the Chinese minister said that confrontation should not be allowed to continue. Those relations should rest on a new basis—the universal principles of peaceful coexistence. According to Qian Qichen, his visit to the USSR and the forthcoming reply visit by Eduard Shevardnadze to Beijing marked the beginning of the process of all-round normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Further on News Conference

LD0312212688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference was held today by Qian Qichen for Soviet and foreign journalists.

The foreign minister of the People's Republic of China noted that during his visit he held talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and met with General Secretary Gorbachev. The Moscow talks were lengthy and dealt with a broad range of issues. In particular, Soviet-Chinese relations and a number of international issues were discussed. The central topic at these talks dealt with Cambodia and with normalizing relations between China and the Soviet Union. I consider my visit to have produced results. During our discussions our mutual understanding has become deeper on many issues and there are now more points of contact. At the same time, there remain questions that must be discussed in the future, and for this reason I have invited my colleague, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, to visit China at the start of next year at a time convenient to him in order to continue the discussion. The question of holding a Chinese-Soviet summit meeting was also touched upon during our discussion. Both sides consider it essential to hold such a summit meeting and now we must start the preparatory work so that this meeting might take place in the 1st half of next year.

Then the Chinese foreign minister answered journalists' questions, including one from Viktor Lyubovtsev, our political observer.

[Lyubovtsev] Comrade Minister, I would like to ask abour your the impressions of your meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. In your opinion, what was the main topic of that conversation?

[Qian Qichen, in Chinese with superimposed Russian translation] It was quite a lengthy meeting, 1 hour and 40 minutes. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev set out the views of the Soviet Union on international issues and also spoke about the restructuring in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, he clearly advocated the resolution of the Cambodian problem and a normalization of relations between our two countries. I got the impression that the development of Soviet-Chinese relations is an integral part of the restructuring process and of the new thinking in the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

[Announcer] After the news conference, Minister Qian Qichen issued a short statement for Soviet television.

[Qian Qichen] My official visit to Moscow is coming to an end and I would like to take this opportunity to thank everybody who receives us for a cordial and friendly meeting on Soviet soil. I am happy that we reached our expected goals. The continuous forward advance in the process of normalizing Chinese-Soviet relations is a welcome fact for our countries. It is in keeping with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and the Soviet peoples. In conclusion, I would like, through Soviet television, to pass on feelings of respect to the great Soviet people and to all Moscow's inhabitants.

Qian Qichen Calls Visit 'Fruitful'

LD0312140088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen called his visit to the USSR "fruitful." Speaking at a news conference here today, he noted that in the course of a conversation with Mikhail Gorbachev and meetings with Eduard Shevardnadze, a wide range of issues was discussed: Sino-Soviet relations, and international problems. "But the central topics were the Cambodian question and the question of the normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union."

During the talks, the minister continued, mutual understanding on many issues grew deeper, and points of contacts multiplied. But there remain questions on which it will be necessary to hold further discussions. "Therefore, I have invited my colleague Eduard Shevardnadze to pay a visit to China at the beginning of next year to continue our talks."

Qian Qichen noted that both sides consider it necessary to hold a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, and are ready to proceed immediately with its preparation so it can be held in the first half of next year.

PRAVDA on News Conference

PM0412161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Fruitful Visit"]

[Text] On 3 December before leaving Moscow PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen held a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at which he described his visit to the USSR as fruitful and stressed the diversity of the subjects discussed.

The talk with M.S. Gorbachev and the talks with E.A. Shevardnadze, the minister said, have deepened mutual understanding between the two countries and augmented points of contact. At the same time, there are still questions requiring more detailed discussion. The head of China's foreign policy department noted that the sides advocated the need to hold a Sino-Soviet summit, which, it is proposed, should be held in the first half of next year.

The minister answered a question about the possibility of holding a summit before the final settlement of the Cambodia problem by stating that a summit could be held even though certain differences in the sides' positions might persist.

Sharing his impressions of his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, the minister stressed that the Soviet Union's position on a number of international problems was clearly set out to him and he was informed in detail about the progress of restructuring in the USSR. I got the impression, Qian Qichen said, that the normalization of relations between the USSR and China is part and parcel of the entire process of restructuring Soviet foreign policy on the basis of the principles of new thinking.

The minister stressed that China and the Soviet Union have great potential for expanding economic cooperation, particularly in developing border trade and opening up the Soviet Far East. The most promising avenue here is the creation of joint enterprises and the provision of manpower.

Assessing the state of Sino-Soviet ties on the whole, the minister stated that there have been differing periods in the history of their development, but currently it is necessary to base relations on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. He expressed the view that his visit to the USSR and E.A. Shevardnadze's forthcoming visit to China is the start of the process of the comprehensive normalization of relations between our states.

Foreign Ministers End Talks

LD0312172288 Moscow TASS in English 1652 GMT 3 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Soviet Foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen ended their talks here today.

They exchanged views on topical international problems in a constructive and businesslike spirit.

The ministers agreed that power politics are being replaced with political means of settling problems and that there is a tendency to determine the role of states not by military might but by a set of political, scientific, technological, cultural and moral factors.

At the same time, the sides pointed to instability persisting in the world and emphasised the importance of relaxation of international tensions.

They voiced their intention to promote an enhanced U.N. role in strengthening cooperation on a global scale.

The ministers said that the current changes in socialist countries would help to fuller reveal advantages of socialism.

The sides considered a number of regional issues.

When discussing the problem of Kampuchean settlement, they noted usefulness of exchanges of views on a number of aspects of the issue and confirmed the intention of their countries to promote an early, fair and rational settlement.

Shevardnadze acquainted the Chinese guest with Soviet assessments of progress in Afghan settlement, and drew his attention to the strict compliance by the Soviet Union with its commitments under the Geneva Accords.

Qian Qichen said China proceeded from the assumption that all parties to the Geneva Accords must observe them.

In the sides' view, relaxation of tensions on the Korean Peninsula and development of north-south dialogue in Korea were an important condition for Korea's independent and peaceful reunification and a factor in ensuring detente in the region.

The sides spoke out in support of constructive proposals set forth by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and aimed at achieving these goals.

The ministers emphasised the growing significance of the Asia-Pacific region and the importance of developing cooperation there, with the participation of all states of the region.

Shevardnadze highly assessed the statement that China seeks good-neighbourly and friendly relations with Mongolia and intends to build its relations with that country on the basis or respect for Mongolia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Chinese foreign minister invited Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to China early next year. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

The date for the visit will be agreed on additionally.

Further on Final Talks

PM0412144588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks End"]

[Text] The talks between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen ended 3 December.

A wide-ranging exchange of opinions on topical international problems of mutual interest was held in a constructive and businesslike spirit.

The ministers agreed that the time of bloc, hegemonist, and strong-arm policies is receding into the past. It is being replaced by political means of setting global and regional problems. The world community is increasingly turning to the economy, ecology, and other vitally important tasks. There is a developing tendency for the role of different states under present conditions to be defined not by military power but by a range of political, scientific, technical, cultural, and moral factors. At the same time, it was noted that instability, inequality, and discrimination persist in the world.

The sides stressed the importance of promoting the incipient process of easing international tension and switching from confrontation to cooperation. The achievement of these goals is being promoted by the creation of a climate of trust among all states.

A mutual intention to promote the further enhancement of the United Nations' role in maintaining peace and strengthening cooperation on a global scale was stated.

Both sides consider the transformations taking place in the socialist countries—transformations which, in their opinion, will make it possible to reveal the advantages of socialism more fully—to be important.

During an examination of the situation in various parts of the world the participants in the talks stated that the processes of seeking solutions to political conflicts by political means and negotiations is gradually gaining ground.

Summing up the working group discussion, the ministers noted the usefulness of this exchange of opinions on a number of aspects of a solution to the Cambodia problem and reaffirmed both countries' intention to promote a speedy, just, and rational settlement around Cambodia.

E.A. Shevardnadze familiarized the Chinese guest with Soviet assessments of the progress of the Afghan settlement, drawing particular attention to the fact that the Soviet Union is unswervingly carrying out its obligations under the Geneva agreements without deviation. China, Qian Qichen stated, proceeds on the basis that all signatories to the Geneva agreements must observe those accords.

In both sides' opinion the easing of tension on the Korean Peninsula and the development of an inter-Korean dialogue are an important condition for the independent and peaceful unification of Korea and represent a factor in ensuring detente and stability in the region. They supported the DPRK's constructive proposals aimed at achieving these goals.

E.A. Shevardnadze talked about the steps being taken by the Soviet Union to implement the Vladivostok program and drew his interlocutor's attention to a number of fundamental theses expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk and Delhi. The ministers highlighted the growing importance of the Asia-Pacific region for the entire world community and the importance of ensuring stability in that area and developing cooperation with the participation of all the region's states.

E.A. Shevardnadze made a high assessment of the statement to the effect that China strives for good-neighborliness and friendship with Mongolia and intends to base relations with it on respect for Mongolia's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

The PRC foreign minister invited E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official visit to China in early 1989. The invitation was gratefully accepted. The timing of the visit will be arranged later.

E.A. Shevardnadze gave a dinner in the PRC foreign minister's honor, during which there was an exchange of speeches (the texts of the speeches will be published in the VESTNIK MID SSSR).

The same day Qian Qichen visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. Wreaths were also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

Qian Qichen left the USSR that evening. He was seen off at the airport by E.A. Shevardnadze and other officials.

Qian Qichen Departs

LD0312182688 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Qian Qichen, Chinese foreign minister, left the Soviet Union tonight.

At the airport he was seen off by Eduard Shevardnadze, other officials.

Returns to Beijing

LD0412195788 Moscow TASS in English 1939 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 4 TASS—TASS correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Gennadiy Krivosheyev report:

China's Foreign Minister Qian Qichen returned to Beijing today after ending his official visit to the Soviet Union.

Answering journalists' questions on his arrival at the Beijing International Airport, he noted that his visit to the Soviet Union had been dominated by the Cambodian problem, preparation for the Soviet-Chinese summit and other questions of bilateral relations.

China's foreign minister said the sides had already removed part of the obstacles impeding the normalization of bilateral relations and added that discussion should be continued on the remaining unresolved issues.

Touching upon a visit to China of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Qian Qichen said that both sides considered this visit possible.

TASS Interviews Shevardnadze

PM0512115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze by unnamed TASS correspondent entitled: "E.A. Shevardnadze Answers TASS Correspondent's Questions"]

[Text] Question: Your talks with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen have just finished. What are their main results?

Answer: The highpoint of the visit of PRC Foreign Minister Comrade Qian Qichen to the Soviet Union, which reflects the main and basic result of the Moscow talks, was the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and my Chinese colleague.

A report on this has already been published. I will just remind you that during the conversation a mutual understanding was expressed that a summit meeting would be held in the first half of next year in Beijing between Comrades M.S. Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping.

I have no doubt that this event, which marks the beginning of a new stage in Soviet-Chinese relations and their emergence onto a qualitatively new level, will also have positive consequences for the overall international situation. When two such large and influentical powers as the Soviet Union and China normalize their relations and start to cooperate constructively, the positive result of this cannot be limited to the national boundaries of the two countries.

Question: Please describe your talks. We want to know about the atmosphere, the tone, and the agenda.

Answer: Although the visit of comrade Qian Qichen to Moscow was not a long one—only 2 and ½ days—it was very packed. Talks were held every day amounting to some 12 hours in total. I would particularly like to note that all the conversations took place in a businesslike, frank [otkrovennyy] and amicable atmosphere, and in a constructive vein. The two sides did not bind themselves to a strict agenda but freely raised the questions they considered essential to discuss. It was decided to work on some of them more thoroughly, for which a special group of experts worked in parallel with the talks of the ministers. There was a manifest joint desire to search for a way of enlarging the spheres of agreement.

An exchange of opinions took place on a wide circle of problems of a bilateral, regional and global nature, on both a specific and a conceptual level.

Naturally, bilateral relations were at the fore. We noted with satisfaction their appreciable improvement and came out in favor of their complete normalization. At the same time it was particularly stressed that the development of links between the USSR and the PRC does not affect the interests of third countries, and does not create an obstacle in relations with allies and friends. The enrichment of our links must have the aim of meeting as fully as possible the hopes of the peoples of the two countries, and of strengthening peace and security on the planet.

The Chinese minister expressed his support for restructuring in the Soviet Union and wished it success. We in turn stressed our sympathy with the aims and tasks of the Chinese reforms.

In a word, the visit that took place was an important step toward raising the level of Soviet-Chinese political dialogue, and giving it an even fuller and more regular character.

Question: You said that prominence was given at the talks to questions of bilateral relations. What questions were they?

Answer: Briefly, the discussion concerned removing past negative accretions and the spheres of future all-round, total cooperation. We declared that we want to establish once and for all in our relations an atmosphere of trust and mutual observance of such principles as mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity; equality of rights; noninterference in internal affairs; and respect for each other's interests, views, experience, and practice. The Soviet-Chinese border must become a border of peace, friendship, and goodneighborliness.

We also spoke in favor of fruitful and mutually beneficial commercial and economic, cultural, and scientific-technical cooperation between our countries, and increasing the elements of mutual understanding in dealing with global and regional problems, in conditions excluding anything that could be to anyone's detriment.

In spite of all this, relations between the USSR and the PRC cannot be structured otherwise than on the basis of present realities. The world is, after all, very different from what it was 3 or 4 decades ago.

We discussed reducing military confrontation and trust-building measures in the military sphere, which we in the Soviet Union intend to solve on the basis of our new military doctrine, which is strictly defensive in character. It was decided to discuss border issues at a high level, bearing in mind that an atmosphere of peace and goodneighborliness must reign on our state borders.

Looking at these questions conceptually, we stressed our principled approach to them, which is that military means have become outdated as a political means and that, in principle, any military presence should have national boundaries. Our practical steps in the sphere of military construction correspond directly to this philosophy. The theoretical interpretation of this problem is behind us and the time has come for practical implementation.

It was proposed that a joint group of military and diplomatic experts be set up to examine these issues seriously and substantively.

During a discussion of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation problems, the sides agreed that, as major neighboring countries possessing an enormous potential of resources and intellects, the USSR and the PRC could substantially increase the intensiveness of our ties.

We drew the attention of our guests to the opportunity for establishing joint firms and enterprises and to developing projects on a bilateral and multilateral basis, involving firms and enterprises of third countries. New people are needed for new ventures. It is necessary to consider the training of cadres and the broad exchange of experience and knowledge.

Direct ties between enterprises, towns, oblasts, republics, districts, and provinces of the USSR and the PRC are highly promising. The development of border trade promises great advantages and we have agreed to involve the relevant ministries and departments of our countries in this work.

Our Chinese partners agreed with a proposal to form working groups to work out proposals on all these issues which we could discuss at a later date. Ideally we see a developed, coordinated program of actions which could be implemented systematically and with which one could move toward a summit meeting.

Comrade Qian Qichen, in turn, formulated the principles upon which our new relations must be based. These are the well-known five principles of peaceful coexistence—the principle of friendship and goodneighbourliness; the principle of equality and mutual benefit; and in international affairs, the principle of equal responsibility.

We welcomed this approach to the matter and noted that the principles which are being proclaimed have already begun to take on specificity of content; this in itelf opens wide vistas. Everything lies ahead, and there can be no return to the past. Times have changed, as have conditions, factors, aims, and tasks.

Question: The report on the first day of the talks mentioned discussion of how a political settlement might be achieved in Cambodia. What other regional and international problems did you focus on?

Answer: Let me first say something more about Cambodia. The sides concluded that appropriate conditions have already been created for eliminating this conflict situation. We stressed our firm conviction that both the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are intent upon achieving that goal. In our opinion, a dialogue between Vietnam and China would also help to promote a successful settlement.

In a wider context, questions of strengthening security and developing cooperation in the region of Asia and the Pacific were discussed. It is in the interests of all states in that area that the situation in the region be improved, and that each of them could make its contribution to building regional security. Naturally, here the opportunities of our two countries are especially great and they must be utilized with maximum effect.

We welcomed the recently expressed willingness of China to work jointly with other countries to turn the Pacific Ocean into a zone of peace, friendship, and cooperation.

The main problem here, in our opinion, is to work out measures in order to lower the level of military confrontation. We came out in favor of creating a mechanism for talks in a regional framework, for a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in the countries situated in the region, and convening a regional conference on questions of protecting the environment.

A specific proposal was submitted for working out a bilateral agreement to prevent incidents on the open sea and the airspace above it. The development of contacts between national committees of Pacific economic cooperation is in our common interests.

In chatting to my Chinese colleague I saw for myself how close the conceptual viewpoints of our two countries leaderships are on the general situation in the world. We both equally share the conviction that the trend toward dialogue is taking the upper hand over confrontation, and the policy of force is giving way to political and legal means of settling problems. The philosophy of "blocs," which is in effect a philosophy of schism, is becoming obsolete. The idea is now topical of eliminating military-political alliances. The military might of this or that country or group of states is no longer the decisive quantity: now the prestige and weight of a state are measured by the development of its economy, science and technology, and of the intellectual and cultural assets of its people, along with its irreproachable moral and political aims.

In such conditions the problems of world economic links, economic development, and the establishment of a just economic order come to the fore.

The processes of renewal in the socialist countries, have, we noted, the task of bringing about and implementing as much as possible their potential, which in turn will have a powerful influence on the global state of affairs.

The coincidence or proximity of our views on the central problems of modern times does not mean an absence in them of elements subject to discussion [diskussionnost] or disagreement. They exist, but there is another, main, desire—to discuss disputed issues calmly and without prejudice, in a comradely atmosphere, and in an analytical manner. The talks showed up this quality in full measure.

Our talks could not leave aside the problems of Afghanistan and the state of affairs in the Korean peninsula, the problems of disarmament, and the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons. We informed our guests of the state of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The exchange of opinions on all these problems produced some very interesting and very promising viewpoints.

We expressed our desire to transfer consultations between our two foreign policy departments onto a permanent basis.

Question: As far as one can understand, your forthcoming trip to Beijing, where Comrade Qian Qichen has invited you for a return visit, also promises to be extremely packed in content and varied in the problems to be discussed.

Answer: Without any doubt. The wide circle of problems sketched out in Moscow should be filled in with specific, practical decisions in Beijing. We would like them to take the form of the relevant documents. For ultimately both visits—that of comrade Qien Qichen to Moscow, and ours to Beijing—are meant to prepare a summit meeting that will bear results. Our peoples, and I dare to believe, the world community, have a deep interest in that.

We have every reason to look into the future with optimism. This optimism has a real foundation. The stage of realism is indeed the name I would give to the new period that Soviet-Chinese relations are just entering. It is not by chance that the same powerful processes of renewal, which are increasing the points of contact between our two socialist countries, also dictate the rigorous observance of the principles of complete equality and independence, and a respectful attitude toward national specifics and historically arising particularities of each other's internal and foreign policy.

Commentary Assesses Visit

OW0412110788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Station commentary: "Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Ends Soviet Visit"]

[Text] Dear listeners, Qian Qichen, Chinese minister of foreign affairs, has ended an official visit to the Soviet Union. The Chinese minister of foreign affairs was received at the Kremlin by Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev and held talks with Eduard A. Shevardnadze, Soviet minister of foreign affairs. Our station's commentator says:

This was the first foreign ministerial meeting in many years between the two countries. This in itself was a good sign. It showed how far the Soviet Union and China had pursued their desire to improve mutual relations. In recent years, this desire has been reflected in both sides' efforts, which have led to preliminary results.

In analyzing the latest contact in Moscow between the two countries, it was pointed out: The two countries, in accordance with their long-term treaties, are working to improve cooperation in trade, economy, science and technology, and culture, consolidate contact among social organizations, make affirmative evaluation of border talks currently under way, and propose a number of ideas about reducing military confrontation in border areas. Both sides held that this dialogue was open and constructive and expressly indicated that they are not satisfied with the results they have achieved so far and want to press forward.

In the meetings, it was pointed out that the two great peoples are undergoing rejuvenization and reform, which is a major favorable factor for promoting Soviet-Chinese relations.

Both sides are very serious about holding a summit meeting in the future. A meeting of such dimensions, of course, requires very careful preparation. This Moscow visit by Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen and Eduard A. Shevardnadze's forthcoming return visit can be regarded as part of the preparation. A summit meeting is very likely to take place in the first half of next year.

In a word, the normalization of the Soviet-Chinese relations has already started, which we have all the reason to believe is beneficial to the people of the two countries. At the same time, this progress is also an integrated part of a process where the international climate is improving as a whole, security is strengthened, and all countries are expanding their cooperation in solving mankind's urgent problems.

As was pointed out in the Moscow meeting, China and the Soviet Union can both contribute to eliminating the conflict surrounding Cambodia. The meeting also touched on improving the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. The Soviet side indicated its willingness to conduct extensive consultations with China on international policy issues and, at the same time, emphasized that the normalization of the Soviet-Chinese relations will not jeopadize its relations with other countries.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen, at a news conference on 3 December, said that his visit to the Soviet Union was very fruitful. Yes, in the course of the meeting, mutual understanding between the two countries was increased, and both countries reached similar views on many issues.

Deng Xiaoping Cited on Sino-Soviet Relations

LD0212194588 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Beijing December 2 TASS—"There are no reasons why China and the Soviet Union shoul;d not improve their relations," Deng Xiaoping, chairman of China's Central Military Council, said here today.

He was receiving a delegation from the Japanese association for the promotion of international trade, led by its president Ioshio Sakurauchi.

Sino-Soviet relations would not be like they were in the 1950s, Deng observed. The new relations should be based on "five principles of peaceful co-existence."

Commenting on the current visit to the Soviet Union by Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, Deng emphasised that the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations would not affect the development of friendly ties between China and other countries.

Academy of Sciences Cooperation Plan Signed

OW0512010388 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] A program for cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese Academies of Sciences for 1989-1990 was signed on 1 December in Moscow. It was signed by Logunov, vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Sun Honglie, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. The program covers cooperation in various fields of natural science and technology.

PRC Signs Border Treaty With Mongolia

PM0512102588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Aimed at Maintaining Stability"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec—The Chinese and Mongolian Governments have signed a treaty here on border regulations [rezhim] and the procedure for resolving border problems. This is the first treaty on border regulations and the settlement of border issues that China has ever concluded with a neighboring state.

The treaty stipulates that it is aimed at maintaining stability on the Sino-Mongolian border and peace in border regions. The document obliges the two sides to firmly adhere to the border regulations and to resolve border problems guided by the principle of mutual understanding and cooperation.

The treaty was signed on behalf of their governments by Liu Shuqing, PRC deputy foreign minister, and Daramyn Yondon, Mongolian first deputy foreign minister. XINHUA reports that D. Yondon is in China as a guest of the PRC Foreign Ministry. Before arriving in Beijing he toured China's Nei Mongol Autonomous Region.

Near East & South Asia

Foreign Ministry Issues Statement on Afghanistan

PM0412122788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 4

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The idea of convening an international conference on Afghanistan, which has been suggested by Afghan President Najibullah, has attracted the attention of all those interested in an Afghanistan settlement. This is a fundamentally new initiative on the entire Afghanistan situation and makes it possible to examine the various aspects of the situation on a broad-based international footing.

The importance of convening the conference was stressed in the Soviet-Indian summit statement signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi. It is believed in the Soviet Union that it is especially urgent to convene the international conference on Afghanistan now that, although more than 6 months have passed since the Geneva agreements entered into force, a full Afghanistan settlement is still far from being achieved. Continuing violations of these agreements have prevented their great positive potential from being tapped.

The conference could give fresh impetus to the settlement of foreign policy aspects of the Afghanistan problem and thereby contribute also to resolving Afghanistan's domestic problems. Dealing with the Afghanistan issue at the conference would also help, as the Afghan leadership has pointed out, foster an atmosphere for extensive international cooperation in that part of Asia.

The Soviet side believes that it is imperative to start practical work as soon as possible toward convening the conference, which could concentrate on issues of Afghanistan's neutrality and demilitarization.

The Soviet side expressed the hope that the United Nations, which has already made a considerable contribution to an Afghanistan settlement, will also take steps toward convening the conference.

The relevant preparatory work could be undertaken by the UN secretary general who has the UN General Assembly's mandate to facilitate an early and comprehensive political settlement in Afghanistan. Consultations among the Security Council members could also be useful. The Soviet Union, for its part, is prepared to help realize the idea of the conference and take an active part in its preparation.

It is essential to do everything possible to stop bloodletting on Afghanistan's long-suffering land.

Najibullah Cited on Opposition Meeting

LD0412110088 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 4 TASS—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan welcomed the meeting between Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, the ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan, and representatives of the Peshawar-based Afghan opposition forces.

In an interview with the BAKHTAR news agency he emphasized that the meeting which will be held in Saudi Arabia in coordination with the Afghan leadership is directed towards finding ways for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and towards full implementation of the Geneva Agreements.

"The Afghan leadership, guided by the principles of the national reconciliation policy", Najibullah said, "repeatedly expressed readiness to enter into negotiations with the opposition. Only such a way can guarantee cessation of the ten-years-long tragic war and a peaceful settlement of the intra-Afghan conflict. Kabul's numerous steps aimed at establishing contacts with the opposition are a reflection of the new political system of the state based on pluralism and sealed in the constitution."

"We are prepared to negotiate constructively and on a par with all those who sincerely wish reconciliation and national concord", the president pointed out.

He said the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) gave a positive evaluation of contacts maintained with the opposite side. The contacts were welcomed by the republic's government and by political allies of the PDPA.

"Steps to establish contacts with the leaders of the Peshawar-based 'Alliance of Seven' will be made in future as well", the president stated.

Touching upon the problems of negotiations with the commanders of opposition groups which operate inside the country, Najibullah pointed out, in particular, that useful contacts had been established with many of the groups.

"However, there are such groups which have not yet duly clarified their position with regard to the initiatives of the country's leadership".

"Of course", the president went on to say, "we strive first of all for a dialogue with the largest groups. At present contacts have been established and are being maintained through various channels with Ahmad Shah Massud. Messages sent to the prominent leader of the opposition inside the country convey proposals about direct talks on the question of cessation of bloodshed without any pre-conditions".

"We are now waiting for a reply to the messages and for reciprocal proposals. I hope that the process of establishing contacts with the commanders of opposition groups and parties will yield realistic results in the nearest future", the president said.

BAKHTAR Notes Vorontsov-Opposition Talks

LD0512092088 Moscow TASS in English 0907 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 5 TASS—A meeting in Saudi Arabia has become a natural result of the all-round efforts aimed at establishing durable peace and stopping the war in Afghanistan, the BAKHTAR news agency reports.

Commenting on the talks between Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR and ambassador of the USSR to the Republic of Afghanistan, and representatives of the Afghan opposition forces, BAKHTAR described them as one of the steps taken recently by the Governments of the USSR and Afghanistan for settling the conflict that has lasted for many years.

Proceeding from the assumption that the problem cannot be resolved by military means, the Afghan leadership put forward a number of concrete peaceful initiatives, gave its consent to a coalition form of government on the broadest possible basis and voiced its readiness for a dialogue with the opposite side. Thanks to a new realistic policy pursued by state power, the ideas of national reconciliation are gradually taking hold of the minds of many representatives of opposition forces who display readiness to sit down at the negotiation table. Compromises, talks and a broad coalition are not tactics, but a long-term strategy of the country's leadership, BAKHTAR pointed out.

BAKHTAR recalled in this connection the latest initiatives of President Najibullah addressed to the opposition and the world community. Proposals on holding talks with opposition leaders in Mecca, on convening an international conference on Afghanistan and on granting to it a status of a neutral and demilitarized country can be instrumental in bringing down tension and paving the way to peace and stability.

Welcoming talks in Saudi Arabia, the Republic of Afghanistan describes them as an important step towards the restoration of peace and national accord. People expect the armed opposition to use in the future talks instead of weapons, to assume a constructive stand. It is only on this condition that Afghanistan will be able to put an end to the fratricidal war, BAKHTAR enmphasized in conclusion.

TASS Notes Afghanistan's 137th Memo to UN

LD0412151088 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 4 TASS—Fighting between government troops and extremist groups continued in a number of Afghan provinces over the past forty-eight hours.

As a result of combat operations in Nangarhar, Qandahar, Paktia, and Konduz, the enemy lost more than 100 men killed and wounded. A large amount of heavy weapons—recoilless rifles, mortars, grenade launchers, and jet projectiles—was captured and destroyed. The troops captured several arms and ammunition depots, and dislodged extremists from a number of strongpoints.

Pakistani border militiamen take an active part in fighting against the Afghan army in Shinwar District (Nangarhar Province).

The BAKHTAR news agency reports with reference to Afghan refugees who arrive from Pakistan that the dead bodies of tens of killed Pakistanis were brought to border areas of that country from Nangarhar, while border militiamen who were wounded in Shinwar were put into hospitals of the city of Peshawar.

The news agency gives a list of ten names of dead Pakistani officers. Repatriates also said that demonstrations of many thousands of people took place in the Naser-Bag [placename as received] refugee camp recently in protest against the continuation of the fratricidal war. The demonstrations began after dead bodies of refugees, who had been forcibly recruited into the extremists' detachments for them to participate in fighting in Shinwar District, were brought to the camp.

A 150-member opposition group has downed arms in the northern Afghan province of Faryab. BAKHTAR reports that the group's commander 'Abdul Bashir said at a meeting in Dowlatabad district that his subordinates and he himself were prepared to cooperate with the state power in the name of ending the bloodshed.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan has handed over the 137th note to the U.N. Good Offices Mission, setting out instances of new violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan.

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani Violations

LD0512092488 Moscow TASS in English 0909 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Kabul December 5 TASS—Extremists have fired more than 130 ground-to-ground missiles at residential quarters in Gardeyz and Konduz, killing six civilians.

According to BAKHTAR, 25 rebels were killed in Zarmal district of Paktia Province, including an Arab and an American military advisers. Fighting also continued in Nangarhar and Konduz provinces. Twenty rebels were captured and some 60 killed. Five secret arms caches were seized.

Some 36 men died and several scores of others were wounded during internecine clashes between different detachments of extremists in Lowgar, Samangan and Konduz provinces.

Traffic on Jalalabad-Kabul and Kabul-Herat motorways continues normally. These roads are being used daily by hundreds of trucks carrying foodstuffs, fuel and agricultural goods to different localities of the country.

The 138th note of the Afghan Foreign Ministry has been addressed to the U.N. Good Services Mission in Kabul. It informs the latter of new Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements.

Iranian Finance Minister Arrives in Moscow 5 Dec

LD0512093188 Tehran IRNA in English 0915 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 5, IRNA—Iran's minister of finance and economic affairs Mohammad Javad Iravani arrived in Moscow Sunday. He is heading a ranking political and economic delegation from Iran at the eleventh session of Iran-USSR's economic cooperation council. At Moscow Airport the Iranian official was welcomed by the Iranian ambassador to Moscow Naser Heirani-Nobari, and his Soviet counterpart Knariev [name as received].

The council is to sit in Moscow Monday.

Academic Interviewed on Contacts With Israel

PM0212160788 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49, 3-9 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 1 Dec 88) pp 5-6

[Interview with Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Nosenko, chief of the Israel Study Laboratory of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, by correspondent D. Makarov under the rubric "Scientist's Viewpoint": "Diplomacy Without Diplomatic Relations"; place, date not specified]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Makarov] What influence has the break between the USSR and Israel had on the situation in the Near East region?

[Nosenko] To assess the step taken by the Soviet Union with regard to the subsequent development of events in the Arab-Israeli conflict, it seems to me that it did not produce results which might adequately accord with one of the chief aims of Soviet Near East policy, namely, promoting the establishment of a just peace in the region. The Soviet Union undoubtedly displayed solidarity with Arab countries at that time, but it evidently could have given them far greater assistance in resolving their urgent task of eliminating the consequences of aggression if it had maintained channels for a political dialogue with Israel and thus influenced its stand on a settlement.

I think that in that dramatic situation we could have resorted, for example, to lowering the level of diplomatic representation. There had already been a corresponding precedent in Soviet-Israeli relations. When Israel, acting jointly with Britain and France, attacked Egypt in the fall of 1956, the Soviet Government recalled its ambassador from Tel Aviv as a sign of protest. At the same time a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasized at a press conference in Moscow that that action was not a prelude to breaking off relations. The Soviet ambassador returned to Israel in April 1957 following the Israeli troop withdrawal from Egyptian territory.

At the same time it must be pointed out that after the break-off of relations in 1967 and even during periods of anti-Soviet hysteria in Israel the Soviet Union always categorically rejected as extremist the viewpoint that the Israeli state does not have the right to exist.

[Makarov] And yet it should not be forgotten that Zionism was and still is the ruling ideology in Israel.

[Nosenko] The principles of the new political thinking presuppose that interstate relations must rise above ideological disagreements and be built regardless of their condition. Zionism as the ideology of bourgeois nationalism really is profoundly hostile to Marxism, and the disagreements between them are of a fundamental nature. True, it should be pointed out that in recent decades our scientific interpretation of Zionism was not always accurate. While focusing attention on a general assessment of this movement, we lost sight of the existence of a wide range of different trends—from profascist to social-democratic, and ones which take perfectly realistic stands on a number of internal Israeli and international questions.

Regarding the reactionary essence of Zionism, our assessments were fundamentally correct. The ideological struggle against Zionism retains its topicality. However, it is certainly not ideological disagreements that are to blame now for the lack of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. The cause lies exclusively in the continuing aggressiveness of Israeli policy in the Near East...

[Makarov] I would like to dwell in greater detail on the Soviet stand on the question of restoring diplomatic relations with Israel.

[Nosenko] The Soviet stand has been formulated quite clearly in M.S. Gorbachev's speeches and in statements by the leaders of the USSR Foreign Ministry. It is that with the commencement of the work of an international conference on the Near East the Soviet Union will be prepared to tackle the question of restoring diplomatic relations with Israel. The reasons for this stand are obvious. Assistance in settling regional conflicts was advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress as one of the central tasks of Soviet foreign policy. Of course, the lack of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel cannot be considered a normal phenomenon. However, it is also obvious that the continuing aggressiveness of Israeli policy and the Israeli ruling circles' refusal to reckon with the worldwide growing interest in the speediest elimination of the dangerous hotbed of tension in the Near East do not create conditions for advancing toward the normalization of Soviet-Israeli relations.

[Makarov] How then are we to account for the recent political contacts with Israel?

[Nosenko] It is perfectly obvious that an effective search for paths to peace in the region requires direct contacts with all the parties to the conflict—what is particularly necessary now is concrete actions, not unsubstantiated declarations. The Soviet Union has had individual contacts with Israel in the past, but in 1986-1988 a series of meetings was held with representatives of the Israeli Foreign Ministry with a view to exchanging opinions on questions of a Near East settlement.

[Makarov] How do the prospects for progress on a Near East settlement appear at the present stage?

[Nosenko] Without a shadow of doubt the decisions of the recent Palestine National Council session have opened up the possibility of a direct move to the settlement process. In addition to proclaiming their own state, the Palestinians at that session officially announced recognition of all the UN resolutions concerning the Palestinian problem, including Security Council resolution 242, which, as is known, proclaims the right of all the states of the region, including Israel, to exist. It is now hard for the Israeli ruling circles to refuse a dialogue with the PLO, hiding behind farfetched claims that this organization takes an irreconcilably hostile stand with regard to their state. It seems to me that Israel has now been given an historic opportunity to end the impasse in the region. If the Israeli ruling circles miss this opportunity, they will thereby shift onto Israel a still greater burden of moral responsibility for the preservation of the dangerous hotbed of tension in the Near East.

West Europe

Kovalev Discusses Gorbachev Visit With UK Envoy

*PM0512093588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received R. Braithwaite, British ambassador to the USSR, at his request 3 December.

During the talk certain issues relating to the forthcoming official visit to Britain by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were discussed.

Mitterrand Hails Talks With Gorbachev

*PM0512103188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7*

[TASS report: "In Favor of Broadening Cooperation"]

[Text] Paris, 1 Dec—We are experiencing a period of detente in relations with the USSR and other East European countries, there is agreement on a number of questions, and cooperation is constantly expanding in many spheres. This was said by French President F. Mitterand in an interview with the "France-Inter" [Paris Domestic] radio station. He spoke highly of his recent talks in Moscow with M.S. Gorbachev. With regard to the restructuring under way in the USSR, the French head of state stressed: The Soviet leader is heading a process of tremendous importance. While he is aware of the existing difficulties, he is fully determined to finish the job and greets with confidence the problems that arise.

Speaking about the state of affairs in the international arena, F. Mitterand indicated that dialogue on disarmament problems is now of particular significance. In this connection he assessed positively the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as the first real step on the path of disarmament. At the same time the president confirmed the well known stance held by France, which, according to him, adheres to the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence" and is prepared to join in reducing its own nuclear weapons only after a substantial reduction in the levels of Soviet and U.S. nuclear systems.

Talking about the USSR's proposal regarding the convening of a conference to develop humanitarian cooperation and the holding of a meeting within the framework of this conference in 1991 in Moscow, F. Mitterand stressed that only ill-informed people can regard the idea of holding such a forum in the Soviet capital as "support for Moscow." In his opinion, significant changes have taken place in the Soviet Union in the human rights sphere. The French head of state advocated expanding

Soviet-French cooperation in the trade and economic sphere and developing new forms of it such as the creation of joint enterprises on the USSR's territory.

Talking about the concept of a "common European home" that has been put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, F. Mitterand indicated that this is a powerful idea that may be well received by the inhabitants of the continent, although there is still a long way to go before this goal is achieved.

Kohl Sees Ties With GDR as 'Stabilizing Factor'

PM0512101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Assessing Prospects for Relations"]

[Text] Bonn, 1 Dec—FRG Chancellor G. Kohl delivered a report in the Bundestag today on the state of the nation. He pointed out that East-West relations have recently "acquired a new dynamic that could hardly have been imagined a few years ago." In his opinion, this is in many respects linked with the profound transformations being implemented in the Soviet Union in domestic and foreign affairs. If the policy characterized by the concepts of "restructuring," "glasnost," and "democratization" opens up greater opportunities for mutual understanding and cooperation, H. Kohl stated, it will meet with our approval and support.

Touching on FRG-GDR relations, the chancellor stressed that they must remain a stabilizing factor in the constructive development of East-West relations and a factor producing positive fillips for peaceful cooperation and dialogue. Both German states, he pointed out, bear "joint responsibility" for the well-being of future generations."

At the same time the head of the FRG Government gave no reaction to the GDR's concrete proposals for joint steps by the two German states to reduce military arsenals and bring about disarmament at the interface between the two military-political blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. He also repeated the old claims regarding the "unsolved nature" of the so-called "German question."

Latin America & Caribbean

TASS Cites Castro on Upcoming Gorbachev Visit

LD0412145788 Moscow TASS in English 1440 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Mexico December 4 TASS—The forthcoming official friendly visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to Cuba is of tremendous importance to us, said Fidel Castro. We will meet a friend, the representative of the fraternal country which always showed solidarity with us in a time of trial, extended aid and on more than [one] occasion proved its friendship.

The first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the republic, spoke at a news conference for local and foreign journalists here. He noted that the coming talks would focus on a wide range of issues, primarily those concerning international relations and efforts to guarantee peace, to whose solution the general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee made a no small contribution.

It will be pleasant for us to meet the Soviet leader on the Cuban land, Castro went on. We repeatedly met with Gorbachev, know his freshness of thinking, intellectual rigour, and the ability to conduct a dialogue.

Castro expressed confidence that the Soviet leader's coming visit to Cuba would be fruitful and would help further promote Soviet-Cuban friendship.

Castro Remarks on Pullout From Angola Cited

PM0112161188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Settlement Possible"]

[Text] Havana, 30 Nov—Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of the republic's Council of State and Council of Ministers, has announced the possibility of an imminent peaceful settlement of the conflict in southwest Africa and the Cuban internationalists' return home from Angola. Speaking in the administrative center of Granma Province Tuesday, he emphasized that the Cuban troops will be withdrawn "calmly, without haste." Cuba was invariably guided by this stand during the quadripartite talks on southwest Africa, F. Castro pointed out.

Yazov Greets Raul Castro on Cuban Jubilee

PM0212155788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDAl in Russian 2 Dec 88 First Edition p 3

[USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov anniversary greetings message to Cuban counterpart]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Raul Castro Ruz, minister of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself personally I cordially congratulate you and all Cuban servicemen on the 32d anniversary of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Soviet servicemen express the firm determination to do their utmost to promote the further development of relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and Cuba in the interests of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

On this significant day I wish all Revolutionary Armed Forces personnel new successes in improving their combat skill for the sake of strengthening socialist Cuba's defense capability.

USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov.

Nicaraguan Hopeful About Bush Policy on Contras

WA18070072 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 21 November 1988 publishes on page 3 an 800-word interview by A. Korzin with Dr Adolfo Miranda, identified as an "influential Nicaraguan public and religious figure, a lawyer and journalist." Miranda states that Bush, despite his status as Reagan's heir, is "more of a pragmatist and realist than Reagan" and therefore will recognize that "the 'Contras project,' like reliance on military force as the main argument in the dispute with Nicaragua in general, has no prospects of success." He also notes that Congress continues to be controlled by the Democrats, who prefer "political arguments" to military force as a means of dealing with the Sandinists. Bush, Miranda believes, can be expected "to try to 'save face' by somewhat liberalizing the anti-Nicaraguan policy." He concludes, "We must be hopeful about [Bush's] political experience—it is multifaceted—and his sober view of things."

On other topics, Miranda notes the influence of Cardinal Obando y Bravo's anti-Sandinist stance, but argues that the opposition is too divided and lacking in a concrete alternative program to be any serious threat to Sandinist power. He agrues that Nicaragua's "critical" economic situation is the result primarily of the civil war, but that the extensive economic centralization and nationalization after the Sandinist victory over Somoza "alienated from the Sandinist Front the mass of small and medium producers...the foundation of the country's economy." He states that the government recognizes its mistake and now plans to develop a "mixed economy." He goes on to say that economic troubles are the cause of the outflow of skilled manpower, and that President Daniel Ortega hopes to stem this outflow by "relying on people's consciousness. We cannot compete in the area of material incentives."

Delegation Leaves for Mexican Inauguration

PM0112152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Delegation's Departure"]

[Text] A USSR delegation headed by P. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Mexico City 30 November. It will participate in measures devoted to the inauguration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari as the new president of Mexico.

Political & Social

Hijacking Incident Ends in Israel, Details Given

Hijackers Surrender

LD0212191588 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] London December 2 TASS—The five criminals on board the Soviet Il-76 plane which landed at Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv tonight have surrendered to the Israeli authorities.

The REUTER NEWS AGENCY has reported with reference to a spokesman for the Israeli military command that a pistol and a large sum of Soviet banknotes were withdrawn from them.

Hayim Bar-Lev, Israeli minister of public security, has pointed out that the five detained persons are, in all probability, criminals. His opinion is that they resorted to hijacking for the purpose of fleeing together with the loot from judicial bodies.

Consular Aide in Tel Aviv Cited

PM0512091788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unnamed own correspondent report under the rubric "We Report the Details" and the general heading "Operation Over"]

[Text] A PRAVDA correspondent phoned Tel Aviv on 3 December in the evening and spoke with V.D. Barabanov, deputy chief of the consular group. This is what he said:

"The Il-76T aircraft belonging to the Sheremetyevo Transport Department landed at a military airfield 20 km from Tel Aviv on 2 December at 1800 local time. It was immediately surrounded by armed subunits and representatives of the security services. The Israeli defense minister and the chief of the general staff were on the scene. Almost as soon as the plane came to a halt it was boarded by security men. They removed the bandits, confiscating weapons and drugs. They initially returned their foreign currency but subsequently confiscated that too. The terrorists were taken to a police station.

"Members of the crew then left the plane. They are all in good shape. Today they were 'terrorized' all day by questions from local correspondents.

"A Tu-154 carrying official Soviet representatives has also arrived in Tel Aviv. It is planned that the planes will return to Moscow on the night of 3-4 December. Clearly they will also be carrying the criminals."

Israel Extradites Hijackers

LD0312195388 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Israeli authorities agreed to extradite criminals who had left the Soviet Union for Israel, the Soviet television evening news programme Vremya reported quoting the latest information from Tel Aviv.

The criminals were taken by plane from Tel Aviv to the Soviet Union at 9:30 p.m. Moscow time Saturday [3 December].

Shevardnadze Thanks Israelis

LD0312173788 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, December 3 TASS—USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze today received A. Levin, who is leading a group of Israeli consular officials staying in Moscow, and conveyed through him gratitude to the Government of Israel for the detention and extradition of hijackers of a Soviet plane.

The terrorists had seized a bus with schoolchildren Friday [2 December] and demanded a plane to take them to Israel in exchange for the children.

"The Soviet Union duly regarded the fact that the Israeli side had carried out without delay steps, envisaged by international law, to return the plane and its crew and also extradite the persons who had committed that grave crime," Shevardnadze said.

"We're grateful to the Israeli authorities for the goodwill shown by them and for the resolute checking of the unlawful act.

"Such norms of civilised interstate contacts should be established in the present-day world on a growing scale," the minister said.

He expressed gratitude to all Israeli citizens who had promoted the successful outcome of the incident.

Levin said he would immediately report on the conversation to Israel's Foreign Ministry.

Foreign Ministry Press Briefing

LD0312125288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1140 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow, 3 Dec (TASS)—The main task of the crisis staff that includes representatives of the KGB, the MVD, and the Ministry of Civil Aviation of the USSR, consisted of saving the 30 children and their teacher, Natalya Yefimova, who were seized by a group of armed criminals in Orzhonikidze (northern Caucasus) on 1 December, "by any means, possible and impossible." This task was carried out with honor, Boris Chaplin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Vitaliy Ponomarev, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, told journalists today at a news conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center. All the children, pupils in the fourth grade at Secondary School No 41 in the town of Orzhonikidze, who were held by the bandits for almost 24 hours, are out of danger. They have been given the necessary medical assistance to cope with the moral and psychological traumas inflicted on them by the drama.

It was reported that the Soviet leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev followed the course of the rescue operation extremely attentively. The crisis staff were given complete power to save the children's lives.

On 1 December at approximately 1730 Moscow time four terrorists headed by a certain Pavel Yakshiyanets, who was born in 1950 and has three convictions for armed robbery, seized a bus full of children which was on an excursion. The terrorists were armed with two hunting guns, a sawed-off shotgun, and explosives. They loaded cannisters of gasoline onto the bus. Having poured some out into the interior, the criminals threatened to set fire to the bus with the children in it.

At the same time as the bus was covering the 300-km journey from Ordhonikidze to the airport in Mineralnyye Vody, representatives of the crisis staff followed on a special flight to Mineralnyye Vody. On board the aircraft, they worked through details and 'scenarios' of the highly complicated operation that was to follow. This was the first case in history of 30 children being taken hostage at the same time.

Vitaliy Ponomarev recounted that the competent authorities managed to enter into contact with the bandits' ringleader at the airfield. Attempts were made to persuade the terrorists to release the child hostages and not to threaten their lives. However, the bandits persisted with their demands: a transport aircraft, money, and a flight out to a state with which the USSR does not maintain diplomatic relations. The terrorists' choice landed on Israel.

Through long negotiations, it was possible to persuade the bandits to release a number of their hostages at first. In the name of the supreme goal—to save the children at any price—the participants in the operation even went so far as to offer the bandits narcotics, which was their next demand.

At about 1800 Moscow time, the terrorists, having first carried out a search of the Il-76T transport plane that had been made available to them and of its crew, released the last group of children. From that moment, it was the members of the crew who were the hostages.

Before the Il-76T took off from Mineralnyye Vody, the Soviet consular group temporarily working in Israel established contact with the local authorities on instructions from the USSR Foreign Ministry. The Israeli side agreed to receive the plane. Israel also expressed the willingness to hand the bandits over to the Soviet authorities and return the airliner and the money appropriated by the terrorists. Vitaliy Ponomarev said a special group left Moscow by air for Tel Aviv at about 1200 Moscow time today, and that it will bring the terrorists back to the Soviet Union this evening.

Boris Chaplin expressed gratitude to the Israeli authorities for their assistance in receiving the Soviet plane, for dealing promptly with all questions of aid to the crew, and for their decision to hand the terrorists over to the USSR without delay.

Moscow Radio Details Incident

LD0312212588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer Kasparov] As has already been reported, on 1 December 30 children and their female teacher were taken hostage by a group of armed criminals in the town of Ordzhonikidze. The bandits took them to Mineralnyye Vody on a bus. There they demanded that they be given an aircraft for the purpose of leaving the country. In order to save the children, an aircraft was placed at their disposal. The children held hostage were later freed. The details are given in this report from our correspondent Pavel Guskov.

[Guskov] The pupils of class 4-G at No 42 [as heard] secondary school in Orzhonikidze, together with their teacher Nataliya Vladimirovna Yefimova, were on a field trip to one of the town's enterprises. As they left the gates of the works a bus drew up. A man got off and asked whether it was the right group and asked them to get in. The bus turned out to be a trap that had been prepared in advance.

It is difficult to imagine the whole horror of what happened. The interior of the bus was filled with gas cans. There were four armed men threatening to turn the bus and the children into a raging bonfire in the event of any danger to themselves. Unrepeatable abuse and threats were made. The bus drove for nearly 200 [as heard] km at a furious speed on the Baku-Rostov road.

Finally the bus arrived at the Mineralnyye Vody Airport. There the terrorists made a number of demands: that they be given an airliner which had to take them to a foreign state. The terrorists stated that they would only name their landing point after they were airborne and they demanded that the wife of the leader of the gang and her daughter be brought from Ordzhonikidze to the aircraft. They fixed a very large ransom for the young hostages, the 4-G students. Here is an excerpt from my conversation with the children after the horrors they endured:

[Begin recording] [Guskov] Tell me, children, was it terrible?

[Children's voices] Yes.

[Guskov] What did they say?

[Unidentified boy] They said that something would happen. They would blow up, set fire to....

[Second unidentified boy, interrupting] If you shout, panic will break out.

[Third unidentified boy] If panic breaks out, something awful will happen. [end recording]

[Guskov] Their teacher was taken along with the children. She is 24 years old and is named Nataliya Vladimirovna Yefimova. She did all she could to protect and save the children and to ease their suffering. In our conversation she expressed admiration for her pupils.

[Begin Yefimova recording] They were fantastic, they behaved themselves so well. I felt very stongly for my children because any false move could have ended in a shot being fired because it wouldn't have cost these people anything to do so. [end recording]

[Kasparov] How the operation to release the hostages went and the finale to this extraordinary event were described at a press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center today. Soviet and foreign journalists were told that an Il-76T aircraft, after landing at Tel Aviv airport on 2 December with the armed criminals on board, returned to the USSR on 3 December together with the crew. As for the bandits, in response to a Soviet request the Israeli authorities have stated that will hand them over to the Soviet Union. A special group is setting off for Israel today to bring back those who have violated the law, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Chaplin told journalists.

Ponomarev, deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, spoke at the news conference about the complicated operation to save the children, who ranged from 10 to 12 years old. The main task of the urgent action crisis headquarters, which included representatives of the KGB, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, and the Civil Aviation Ministry of the USSR, he said, was to save the children and the teacher at whatever cost. The crisis headquarters was given complete authority in order to save the lives of the children, including making available main and backup aircraft and money. The Soviet leadership followed the progress of the rescue operation in the closest way. All the children are now at home.

In giving the details, Comrade Ponomarev said that the seizure of the bus was led by a bandit who had been convicted on three previous occasions, including armed robbery. The terrorists were armed with hunting weapons, a sawed-off gun, and explosives. The competent bodies managed to establish contact with the leader of the bandits. They tried to persuade the terrorists to release the children held hostage without placing their lives in danger. The bandits, however, insisted on their demands: a transport aircraft, money, and a flight to a state with which the USSR did not have diplomatic relations. The terrorists' choice fell on Israel. By means of lengthy talks, the Chekists managed to talk the bandits into releasing some of the hostages. In the name of their supreme goal—saving the children at any price—the participants in the operation even went so far as to make drugs available to the bandits which was another of the criminals' demands.

On the evening of 2 December the bandits, having made a preliminary search of the Il-76T transport aircraft placed at their disposal, released the last batch of children and the teacher. From that moment the members of the crew became the hostages.

Comrade Chaplin said that even before the aircraft took off a Soviet consular group working temporarily in Israel, acting on instructions from the USSR Foreign Ministry, established contact with the local authorities. The Israeli side agreed to receive the aircraft. The representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry expressed gratitude to the Israeli authorities for their state's readiness to hand the bandits over to the Soviet authorities, and to return the airliner and the money appropriated by the terrorists.

KGB Official Describes Incident

LD0412141988 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vasiliy Arbekov and Pavel Ostrov: The four terrorists, who took hostage 30 children and a teacher in the city of Ordzhonikidze, northern Caucasus, to trade them for a flight out of the country, were extradited to the USSR today.

The terrorists were brought to Moscow by two special Aeroflot flights. The first plane, Il-76T, which was piloted by the same crew who were held as hostages by the terrorists, brought Pavel Yakshiyants, the ringleader of the gang, and one more criminal. The second plane, Tu-154, carried two other members of the gang and the ringleader's wife Tamara. The money handed over to the terrorists on their demand earlier was returned to the Soviet side.

Aleksandr Bozhkov, the commander of the crew who piloted on the terrorists' demand the flight along the Mineralnyye Vody-Tel Aviv route, stressed in the talk with us that he had to make the flight in such unusual conditions—at gun point—for the first time ever. He said the criminals repeatedly threatened the pilots.

Geniy Ageyev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Security Committee, holds that the main result of the completed operation to gain the release of the hostage children and extradition of the four terrorists was that "everybody was saved and none of the innocent victims suffered". Characterizing Pavel Yakshiyants, the 38-year-old ringleader of the gang, Ageyev described his as a hardened criminal-recidivist who also tried to draw his wife Tamara into the criminal group. "This attempt has been a setback, however", he stressed. And although Tamara appeared to have been aboard the Il-76 transport aircraft, she did this for the sake of rescuing the lives of 30 schoolchildren and their teacher. The matter is that Tamara's presence aboard the plane was one of the last conditions set forth by the gang ringleader, the security man explained.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1318 GMT on 4 December in a similar report adds: The criminals searched the pilots, handcuffed them, inspected the plane which was already being prepared for the flight, and only after that they released the last group of children who were held hostage. (Part of the children had been earlier released in exchange for narcotics and weapons).

"Those were the most terrible moments in the entire operation", Ageyev pointed out. "We realised that those were not just bandits but drug-addicted criminals. Such characters are capable of any unpredictable act".

On terrorists' demand, they were given weapons, too, the deputy chairman of the Soviet State Securty Committee went on to say. That was also one of the conditions for the release of the schoolchildren. As a result, by three p.m. on December 2, shortly before the plane's departure for Israel, the bandits still held hostage eleven children and their teacher Nataliya Yefimova. That was one of the most dramatic moments in the situation.]

About the choice of the place for the plane's landing, Ageyev said that the terrorists themselves selected it as the final leg of the route. "This did not cause our objections".

In conclusion Ageyev stressed that the coordinated efforts of representatives of the State Security Committee, the Interior Ministry, Foreign Ministry and the Civil Aviation Ministry of the USSR were instrumental to the success of the operation. He made a special mention of the coordination of actions with other countries, noting that "this was the first example of such a cooperation with the participation of the USSR".

Pilots Interviewed

LD0412091688 Moscow TASS in English 0757 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vasily Arbekov and Pavel Ostrov:

To fly a plane at gun-point for more than four hours, travelling at a speed of 850 km an hour above the clouds is a rare experience for an air pilot. Nevertheless Aleksandr Bozhkov, commander of the crew of the Il-76T airliner, Vyacheslav Balashev, flight inspector, deputy commander of squadron, and six of their comrades who became voluntary hostages held by the bandits in exchange for 30 children and a woman teacher accomplished the dangerous mission with honour. Four terrorists seized 30 schoolchildren aged from 10 to 12 and their teacher in the city of Ordzhonikidze (northern Caucasus) on December 1 in order to get an opportunity to leave the Soviet Union.

In a complex situation Soviet competent bodies took the only right decision: to agree to the terms of the terrorists who demanded that they be provided with a plane to fly to a country with which the Soviet Union has no diplomatic relations, a large sum of money in foreign currency, weapons and narcotics. As a result, the children were released, and the eight crewmen of the Il-76T plane turned into voluntary hostages. The plane brought the terrorists to Tel Aviv (the state of Israel). On December 3 the Israeli authorities, in response to a request from the Soviet side, gave consent to handing the criminals back. They were brought to Moscow overnight.

"We were not sure of our safety", Bozhkov told the TASS correspondents. "There were no guarantees that the criminals who resorted to such a grave crime as the seizure of children as hostages would keep us alive. To us, just as to all those who took part in the operation, the main thing was to save the kids."

Gennadiy Prikhodchenko, deputy general director of Aeroflot's central department for international air travel, emphasized in an interview with the TASS correspondents that the plane's crew learned about the bandits' demand only upon arriving at Mineralsyne Vody from Moscow on an urgent call. Prior to that the crew had prepared to make an ordinary scheduled flight to New Delhi.

The pilots shouldered a serious responsibility: Originally the terrorists had demanded that the bus with the children be taken abroad together with them in the transport airliner. But after long negotiations the bandits agreed to leave only the crew as hostages. And the air pilots readily agreed to that. The criminals searched the pilots, handcuffed them, inspected the plane, and only after that they released the last group of children that were remaining as hostages. Some of the children had been earlier released in exchange for narcotics.

"During the flight the criminals repeatedly threatened the crewmen, keeping them constantly at gunpoint", Vyacheslav Balashev told the TASS correspondents. "When the plane took off the bandits tried to count the money they had been given but were unable to tell the currencies of various countries. They also demanded that they be given syringes for narcotic injections but we declined to do that".

"Despite the tiredness which is natural after such a gruelling flight, all crewmen are feeling well", Vyacheslav Balashev said in conclusion.

It was difficult for us to imagine when we looked at the smiling faces of the pilots what courage these people needed only several hours ago when they had been face to face with death.

TV Shows Return of Hijackers

LD0412173688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 4 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At 0240 today, the Il-76T aircraft which left Tel Aviv yesterday landed at the capital's Sheremetyevo-1 Airport. On 2 December its crew, under the command of Vyacheslav Vasiliyevich Balashov, one of the most experienced pilots in the air detachment, and First Pilot Aleksandr Vasiliyevich Bozhkov, became voluntary hostages of four bandits who demanded a plane in exchange for the lives of children.

The operation, which was worked out and precisely carried through by a special crisis operational headquarters, was completed.

Together with the crew of the Il-76T aircraft, a special group ensured the return of the criminals to Moscow. It flew to Tel Aviv in a Tu-154 plane. All four bandits were brought back on a return flight, together with their arms, bullet proof jackets, drugs, and money, which were handed over as a condition of the children's release.

The identities of two of the criminals still have to be established in the inquiry. The degree of guilt of each of the terrorists will be determined at a trial. [video shows airport lights illuminating snowbound runway as Aeroflot plane taxies in; officials and photographers approach aircraft; first criminal is seen being helped down aircraft steps and bundled into a car—he is young man, handcuffed; second young man follows and is bundled into back of second car; two cars are driven away from airport]

More on USSR Supreme Soviet 29 Nov-1 Dec Sessions

Law on Elections of Deputies

PM0312194688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1-3

["USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies"; passages diverging from draft law by rewording or addition enclosed in slantlines; notes in brackets indicate points at which text has been deleted from draft]

[Text]

I. General Provisions

Article 1. Basic principles of elections of USSR people's deputies

Elections of USSR people's deputies take place in single-seat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. /With a view to ensuring the representation of social organizations according to the norms laid down by the present law/, one-third of USSR people's deputies are elected from [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] social organizations—the CPSU, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the all-union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] organizations [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] set up in accordance with the procedure established by law and having all-union organs. Elections of people's deputies from social organizations take place at their congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 2: Universal suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies are universal: USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations belongs to all delegates to their congresses or conferences or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs.

A USSR citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected a USSR people's deputy.

Any direct or indirect restrictions on the electoral rights of USSR citizens on the grounds of origin, social position, property, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, length of residence in a given locality, or type or nature of occupation are prohibited.

Mentally ill citizens judged incompetent by the court, persons detained in places of imprisonment, and also persons sent to places of compulsory treatment by a decision of the court do not participate in elections.

Article 3. Equal suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal: A voter in each electoral okrug has one vote; voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

In elections of /USSR/ people's deputies from a social organization each delegate to its congress or conference or participant in the plenum has one vote, and all participate in the elections on an equal basis.

Women and men have equal electoral rights.

Servicemen enjoy electoral rights equally with all citizens.

Article 4. Direct suffrage

Elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct [pryamoy]: People's deputies are elected by the citizens directly [neposredstvenno].

/USSR/ People's deputies from social organizations are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences or by the participants in plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 5. Secret ballot

Voting at elections of USSR people's deputies is secret: /Monitoring of the voters' exercise of franchise is not permitted./

Article 6. Conduct of elections by electoral commissions

The conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies is carried out by electoral commissions made up of representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units.

Article 7. Glasnost in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies

The preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies are carried out by electoral commissions, labor collectives, and social organizations openly and publicly [otkryto i glasno].

Electoral commissions inform citizens about their work, the formation of electoral okrugs, the composition, whereabouts, and working times of electoral commissions, and electoral rolls. Electoral commissions inform citizens of the results of the registration of candidate deputies, biographical information on the /candidates/ registered, the results of the vote on each candidate, and the outcome of the elections.

Representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters, agents, and also representatives of the press, television, and radio have the right to attend sessions of electoral commissions, including sessions relating to the registration of candidate deputies, the counting of votes in the electoral ward, the determination of the results of the elections for the okrug, and the summing up of the overall results of the elections.

The mass media publicize the course of the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies, and they are guaranteed unhindered access to all meetings and sessions connected with the elections. Electoral commissions, state and social organs, and labor collectives make available to them information connected with the preparation and conduct of the elections.

Article 8. The participation of citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies

USSR citizens take part in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies /both/ through labor collectives, social organizations, meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units, and okrug election meetings, /and directly/.

Labor collectives and social organizations participate in the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies both through their representatives on electoral commissions and directly.

Article 9. The right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy

The right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy for electoral okrugs belongs to the labor collectives, social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units, and the right to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations belongs to their all-union organs, which take into account /proposals concerning candidate deputies received from local organs,/ grass-roots collectives, and members of those organizations.

[Word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

Article 10. Mandates given by voters and social organizations to USSR people's deputies

Voters and social organizations give mandates to their deputies.

The procedure for submitting, summarizing, examining, and organizing the fulfillment of mandates is laid down by a USSR law.

Article 11. Incompatibility of the status of USSR people's deputy with an official position

Persons belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers with the exception of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of USSR departments, [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] the chairman and members of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR chief state arbiter and USSR state arbiters, /and the chairman and/ members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] cannot be USSR people's deputies simultaneously.

Article 12. Expenditure in connection with elections of USSR people's deputies. Material provision for elections

Expenditure in connection with the preparation and conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies is at the state's expense.

Enterprises, institutions, and organizations and state and social organs make available to electoral commissions the premises and equipment necessary for the preparation and conduct of elections.

Candidates for USSR people's deputy and voters do not meet the expenses involved in preparing for and holding elections.

Article 13. Liability for violating the legislation on elections of USSR people's deputies

Persons using violence, deception, threats or other means to impede USSR citizens' free exercise of their right to elect and be elected as USSR people's deputies and to conduct election campaigning, and also members of electoral commissions and officials of state and social organs who have forged election documents, deliberately miscounted votes, violated the secrecy of the ballot, or committed other violations of the present law bear the liability prescribed by the law. Proceedings are also taken against persons who have published or otherwise disseminated false information about a candidate deputy.

II. The Procedure for Scheduling Elections and Forming Electoral Okrugs

Article 14. The scheduling of elections of USSR people's deputies

Elections of USSR people's deputies are scheduled by the USSR Supreme Soviet no later than 4 months before the expiry of the term of office of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

[Word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

Elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are held at the organizations' congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs no earlier than 20 days before election day and no later than election day for the electoral okrugs.

Announcements of election day for electoral okrugs and the date and place of social organizations' congresses or conferences or plenums of their all-union organs are published in the press.

Article 15. The formation of electoral okrugs

In order to elect USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs 750 territorial and 750 national-territorial electoral okrugs are formed.

Electoral okrugs are formed by the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies at the representation of the union republics' supreme organs of state power.

One USSR people's deputy is elected per electoral okrug.

Lists of electoral okrugs indicating their borders and the locations of okrug electoral commissions are published by the Central Electoral Commission no later than the 10th day after the scheduling of the elections.

Article 16. Territorial electoral okrugs

Territorial electoral okrugs for elections of USSR people's deputies are formed with equal numbers of voters throughout the USSR's territory. The administrative territorial division of union republics is taken into account when defining the borders of electoral okrugs. The norm for voters per electoral okrug is established for each election by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 17. National-territorial electoral okrugs

National-territorial electoral okrugs for elections of USSR people's deputies are formed according to the following norms: 32 okrugs in each union republic, 11 okrugs in each autonomous republic, 5 okrugs in each autonomous oblast, and 1 electoral okrug in each autonomous okrug.

National-territorial electoral okrugs are formed with equal numbers of voters throughout the territory of the relevant union republic, autonomous republic, or autonomous oblast. The territory of an autonomous okrug constitutes one national-territorial electoral okrug.

Article 18. Norms for the representation of social organizations in elections of USSR people's deputies

All-union social organizations elect 750 USSR people's deputies, /of which/:

the CPSU elects 100 deputies;

USSR trade unions elect 100 deputies;

cooperative organizations (kolkhozes, consumer societies, and other cooperative associations of citizens) elect 100 deputies;

the all-union Lenin Komsomol elects 75 deputies;

women's councils, united by the Soviet Women's Committee, elect 75 deputies;

organizations of war and labor veterans, united by their All-Union Council, elect 75 deputies;

associations of scientific workers (all-union academy institutions and scientific societies and associations), the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies, and the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers elect 75 deputies;

other legally constituted social organizations [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] having all-union organs elect 75 deputies.

Within the limits of the aforementioned norms the representation of each social organization is established at a joint sitting of these organizations' leading elected organs or of their agents, convened by the Central Electoral Commission, /or, in the event of disagreement, by the Central Electoral Commission/.

III. Electoral Wards

Article 19. The formation of electoral wards

In order to conduct the ballot and count the votes in elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs the territory of the rayons, cities, and city rayons forming the electoral okrugs is divided into electoral wards, which are the same for elections of people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial okrugs. Electoral wards are also formed in military units and form part of the electoral okrugs at the units' location.

Electoral wards can be formed in sanatoriums and rest homes, in hospitals and other in-patient medical institutions, /in places where citizens are present that are located in remote and inaccessible regions,/ and also on ships that are on a voyage on election day; these wards form part of the electoral okrugs at their location or at the ship's port of registration, respectively. Electoral wards can be formed at polar stations and, if the necessary conditions exist for this, at Soviet institutions abroad.

Article 20. The procedure and norm for the formation of electoral wards

Electoral wards are formed by rayon, city (excluding cities under rayon jurisdiction), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/ by agreement with okrug electoral commissions. Aboard ships which are on voyage on election day electoral wards are formed by the corresponding soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/ for the place in which the ship's port of registration is located. In military units electoral wards are formed by local soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/ in response to an application from unit or troop formation commanders.

Electoral wards are to be formed not later than months before elections. In military units and also /in remote and inaccessible regions/, aboard ships which are on voyage on election day, and at polar stations electoral wards are to be formed by the same deadline, or in exceptional circumstances no later than 5 days before the elections.

Electoral wards are to be formed with no less than 20 and no more than 3,000 voters.

The corresponding local soviet of people's deputies /or its presidium/ informs the voters of the boundaries of each electoral ward, indicating the location of the ward electoral commission and the place where voting is to take place.

IV. Electoral Commissions

Article 21. The system of electoral commissions

To carry out elections of USSR people's deputies the following electoral commissions are formed:

the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies;

okrug electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from territorial electoral okrugs;

okrug electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs;

ward electoral commissions;

electoral commissions for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations.

Article 22. The formation of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies is formed by the USSR Supreme Soviet taking account of proposals from the supreme organs of state power of the union republics and from the all-union organs of social organizations no later than 4 months before the elections and consists of a chairman, 2 deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 31 commission members.

The Central Electoral Commission's term of office is 5 years.

Article 23. The powers of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies:

1) supervises the implementation of this law throughout the territory of the USSR and ensures its uniform application; when necessary makes representations about the interpretation of this law to the USSR Supreme Soviet;

2) directs the activity of electoral commissions; determines the procedure for altering the composition of electoral commission;

3) forms territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs;

4) resolves questions relating to the attachment of electoral wards situated outside the borders of the USSR to electoral okrugs on the territory of the USSR;

5) distributes funds among electoral commissions; supervises the provision of premises, transport, and communications for electoral commissions and examines other questions relating to the provision of material and technical backup for elections;

6) prescribes the forms for ballot papers for elections of USSR people's deputies, electoral rolls, minutes of preelection meetings and sittings of electoral commissions, and other electoral documents; the models to be used for ballot boxes and electoral commission seals; and the procedure for storing electoral documents;

7) hears reports from USSR ministries, state committees, and departments and other state and social organizations on questions linked with the preparation and conduct of elections [word or words deleted from draft law at this point];

8) registers elected deputies, sums up election results for the country as a whole, and publishes in the press a report on the results of elections and a list of elected USSR people's deputies;

9) makes available to the Credentials Commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the documentation necessary to verify deputies' credentials;

10) resolves questions linked with the conduct of repeat elections;

11) resolves questions linked with organizing the recall of [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] deputies;

12) schedules elections for USSR people's deputies to replace former deputies and ensures that they are held;

13) examines statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of electoral commissions and makes final decisions on them;

14) carries out other powers in accordance with this and other USSR laws.

Article 24. The formation of okrug electoral commissions

An okrug electoral commission is formed in each territorial and national-territorial electoral okrug for elections of USSR people's deputies no later than 3 and ½ months before elections and consists of 11-17 members.

Representatives are nominated for okrug electoral commissions by labor collectives /or/ their councils, republic, kray, oblast, okrug (autonomous okrug), rayon, city, and city rayon organs of social organizations, neighborhood meetings of voters, and unit meetings of servicemen. To determine the labor collectives and social organizations which can nominate representatives for commissions, the corresponding soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/ can, if necessary, conduct conferences of representatives of labor collectives and social organizations in the electoral okrug.

Okrug electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies in territorial electoral okrugs are formed:

in union republics divided into krays and oblasts and in cities under republic jurisdiction—by the corresponding kray, oblast, or city soviet of people's deputies /or its presidium/;

in union republics not divided into krays and oblasts and in autonomous republics—by the /supreme soviet of/ the corresponding union or autonomous republic /or its presidium/.

Okrug electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs are formed by, respectively, the /supreme soviet/ of the union or autonomous republic or the soviet of people's deputies of the autonomous oblast or autonomous okrug /or their presidiums/.

Article 25. Powers of okrug electoral commissions

The okrug electoral commission for the election of USSR people's deputies from territorial or national-territorial electoral okrugs:

1) monitors the implementation of this law in the okrug's territory;

2) directs the activity of ward electoral commissions;

3) receives reports from executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies and from enterprise, institution, and organization leaders on questions concerning the preparation and conduct of elections;

4) supervises the compilation of electoral rolls and their publication for universal information;

5) organizes the nomination of candidate deputies;

6) /convenes and/ holds okrug election campaign meetings;

7) registers the nominated candidate deputies and issues them with the appropriate certificates, and ensures the publication of posters containing biographical details of the candidate deputies;

8) organizes meetings between candidate deputies and voters jointly with labor collectives and social organizations, /both in the labor collectives and at the voters' places of residence/;

9) ratifies the wording on the ballot paper for the electoral okrug and ensures the preparation of ballot papers and their delivery to ward electoral commissions;

10) determines and publishes in the press the election results for the electoral okrug and issues certificates to the elected /deputy/;

11) organizes repeat ballots and repeat elections and elections to replace /a former deputy/;

12) decides questions concerning the process of a deputy's recall;

13) examines applications and appeals against decisions and actions by ward electoral commissions and makes decisions on them;

14) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 26. The formation of ward electoral commissions

The ward electoral commission—the same one for the election of /USSR people's/ deputies from both territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs—is formed not later than 45 days prior to the elections and comprises 5-19 members. Whenever necessary, the membership of a ward electoral commission can be increased /or reduced/.

Labor collectives /or their/ councils, rayon, city, and city rayon organs of social organizations and their primary organizations, organs of the population's independent social activity, and /also/ neighborhood meetings of voters and unit meetings of servicemen nominate representatives for membership of ward electoral commissions.

Ward electoral commissions are /established/ by rayon, city (except in cities under rayon jurisdiction), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/.

Article 27. Powers of the ward electoral commission

The ward electoral commission:

1) compiles the ward electoral roll;

2) brings the electoral roll to the voters' attention, accepts and examines applications concerning incorrect roll entries, and decides on appropriate amendments to it;

3) issues voters with right to vote certificates;

4) notifies the population of the date of elections and the location of polling places;

5) ensures the preparation of polling premises and ballot boxes;

6) organizes voting in the ward on election day;

7) counts the votes cast in the electoral ward;

8) examines applications and complaints concerning questions relating to the preparations for the election and the organization of voting, and makes decisions on them;

9) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 28. The formation of electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

Electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are formed in electoral okrugs no later than 3 and ½ months prior to election day and consist of 7-13 members of these organizations' all-union organs.

When necessary /several social organizations can form a joint electoral commission/.

Article 29. Powers of electoral commissions for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

The electoral commission for the election of USSR people's deputies from social organizations:

1) registers nominated candidate deputies and issues them with the relevant certificates;

2) publishes the list of candidate deputies;

3) sums up the proposals and remarks made about candidate deputies by /local organs,/ grassroots collectives, and members of social organizations and by citizens, and reports on them to the social organization's congress or conference or to a plenum of its all-union organ;

4) ratifies the wording on the ballot paper for the election of USSR people's deputies;

5) ensures the preparation of polling premises and ballot boxes and organizes voting at the social organization's congress or conference or at a plenum of its all-union organ;

6) counts the number of votes cast, determines the results of the election of deputies, and issues certificates to the elected deputies;

7) organizes repeat ballots and elections to replace former deputies;

8) decides questions concerning the process of deputies' recall;

9) exercises other powers in conformity with this law.

Article 30. Organization of the work of electoral commissions

The chairman, deputy chairmen, and secretary of the electoral commission are elected at a sitting of the commission concerned.

The sittings of electoral commissions have a quorom [pravomochnyy] if they are attended by at least two-thirds of the commission's members. The commission's decisions are adopted by open vote and by majority vote of the commission's total membership. Commission members disagreeing with the decision are entitled to express a minority opinion to be appended in writing to the proceedings report.

Decisions adopted by electoral commissions within the bounds of their competence are binding on all state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Appeals against the decisions and actions of an electoral commission may be lodged with a superior electoral commission; in cases envisaged by this law appeals may also be made to the courts.

During the period of the preparation and holding of elections electoral commission members may, by the decision of an electoral commission, be released from their production or service duties while retaining their average salary, to be paid out of the funds allocated for holding the elections.

Article 31. Assistance to electoral commissions in implementing their powers

State and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obliged to assist electoral commissions in the implementation of their powers and to provide the information and materials they require for their work.

With regard to questions relating to the preparation and holding of elections, electoral commissions are entitled to approach state and social organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials, which are obliged to examine the question raised and give the electoral commission an answer within no more than 3 days.

V. Electoral Rolls

Article 32. Electoral rolls and the procedure for their compilation

General electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs are drawn up for each electoral ward and signed by the chairman and secretary of the ward electoral commission. Ward electoral commissions may involve representatives of the public in the compilation of the rolls.

Executive committees of city, city rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies register voters and pass on to ward electoral commissions the information about voters living on the relevant territory required for the compilation of electoral rolls.

Rolls of serviceman-voters in military units, members of service families, and other voters—should they live in areas where military units are deployed—are compiled on the basis of information supplied by military unit commanders. Servicemen living outside military units are included on electoral rolls on the basis of their place of residence in line with the general procedure.

Electoral rolls for electoral wards covering /sanatoriums and rest homes, hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments, and also ships that are on voyage on election day, polar stations, and Soviet establishments abroad/ are compiled on the basis of information supplied by the leaders of the aforesaid institutions and ship captains.

Voters' names are listed on the electoral roll in an order convenient for the organization of the voting.

Article 33. Procedure for including citizens on electoral rolls

Electoral rolls include all USSR citizens aged 18 on election day who are resident /permanently or temporarily/ [omitting parentheses present in draft] at the time of compilation of the list on the territory of a given electoral ward and entitled to vote.

Voters cannot be included on electoral rolls for other electoral wards.

Article 34. Citizens' inspection of electoral rolls and the right to appeal against inaccuracies on electoral rolls

Electoral rolls are submitted for general inspection /15/ days before the elections, and 2 days before the elections at electoral wards based on rest homes, sanatoriums, hospitals and other in-patient medical establishments.

Citizens are allowed to inspect the electoral roll and check that it has been compiled accurately at the ward electoral commission building.

All citizens are entitled to appeal against their omission from, incorrect inclusion on, or exclusion from the roll and to lodge complaints about any inaccuracies on the roll with regard to voter information. Complaints about inaccuracies on the roll are examined by the ward electoral commission, which is obliged to examine the complaint, make the necessary corrections to the roll, or provide the parties lodging the complaint with a copy of the commission's sound reasons for its rejection of it within no more than 2 days, or, on the eve of election day, immediately. An appeal may be lodged against this decision with the rayon (city) people's court /no later than 5 days before the elections/, which must examine the appeal within 3 days. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. Corrections to electoral rolls in accordance with a court decision are carried out immediately by the ward electoral commission.

Article 35. Voting entitlement certificates. Additional electoral rolls

If voters change their place of residence [prebyvaniye] in the period between the submission of electoral rolls for general inspection and election day, the ward electoral commission—at the voters' request and on presentation of a passport or other identification—shall issue the voters with a voting entitlement certificate. A corresponding note is made on the electoral roll.

On the basis of the voting certificate the voters shall be listed on election day on an additional electoral roll at the electoral ward covering their place of residence.

Article 36. Electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations and the procedure governing their compilation

Electoral rolls for elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are compiled by the social organization's all-union organ and passed on to the electoral commission no later than 3 days before the elections.

The electoral roll includes delegates to the social organization's congress and conference or participants in the plenum of its all-union organ. All questions relating to inclusion on the electoral roll are resolved by the electoral commission. Names of voters are listed on the roll in alphabetical order.

VI. Nomination and Registration of Candidates for USSR People's Deputy

Article 37. Procedure for nominating candidates for USSR people's deputy for electoral okrugs

The nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy for territorial and national territorial electoral okrugs begins 3 months and ends 2 months before the elections.

The nomination of candidate deputies is carried out [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] at meetings /(conferences)/ of /labor/ collectives. [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

The nomination of candidate deputies for electoral okrugs from social organizations is carried out by their republican, kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, city, or city rayon organs.

Meetings of voters at places of residence to nominate candidate deputies are convened by the relevant soviets of people's deputies /or their presidiums/ in conjunction with okrug electoral commissions. A meeting has a quorum if it is attended by at least 500 voters living in the territory of the electoral okrug.

Meetings of servicemen to nominate candidate deputies are convened by the military units' command.

The conditions for /nomination of an unrestricted number/ of candidates are created at meetings. Every participant in a meeting has the right to submit proposals on candidate deputies, participate in discussing them, support the proposed candidacies, or submit proposals for their withdrawal. A participant in a meeting may propose his own candidacy for discussion as a candidate deputy. The decision to nominate a candidate deputy is adopted at the meeting by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the meeting.

A candidate is considered nominated if more than one-half of the participants in the meeting or a majority of the total membership of the relevant organ of a social organization vote for him. A protocol on the nomination of a candidate deputy is drawn up. The candidate deputy is /informed [soobshayetsya; draft had "dovoditsya do"]/ of the decision adopted /within 2 days/.

Those nominated as candidates for USSR people's deputy are, as a rule, citizens working or living: for elections from territorial electoral okrugs—in the territory of the relevant electoral okrug; for elections from national territorial okrugs—in the territory of the relevant union or autonomous republic, autonomous oblast, or autonomous okrug.

A USSR citizen may not be a deputy of more than two soviets of people's deputies simultaneously.

Article 38. The okrug election meeting

In accordance with the USSR Constitution, an okrug election meeting may be held in order to discuss the candidates for USSR people's deputy nominated for the electoral okrug and adopt decisions on the submission of candidates to the relevant electoral commission for registration. The meeting is convened by the okrug electoral commission and is held after the end of nomination of candidate deputies. If no more than two candidate deputies have been nominated for the okrug, an okrug election meeting is not held.

The participants in the okrug election meeting are delegated by the labor collectives, organs of social organizations, and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units that nominated the candidate deputies, in equal numbers according to the norms laid down by the okrug electoral commission. At least one-half of the participants in the meeting must be voters from the electoral okrug in question. [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] They are delegated by labor collectives and meetings of voters at places of residence and of servicemen in military units.

A list of all the candidate deputies nominated for the okrug in question and basic information about them are submitted beforehand to the participants in the okrug election meeting.

At the meeting the candidate deputy is given the opportunity to set forth his program for his future activity. Any participant in the meeting has the right to discuss the candidate deputies and submit his proposals concerning them.

/Any number of candidate deputies can be submitted for registration./ The decision [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] is taken by a majority of votes of the participants in the meeting by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the meeting. A decision is considered adopted if more than one-half of the participants in the meeting vote for it. The results of the discussion of the candidate deputies are reflected in the minutes of the meeting.

An appeal against the meeting's decision may be lodged at the okrug electoral commission /or the Central Electoral Commission/ within 3 days.

Article 39. Procedure for nominating candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations

The nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations takes place at plenums of their all-union organs in accordance with the requirements of the present law. Plenums to nominate candidate deputies are held no later than 2 months before the date of the elections in the social organization concerned.

In the course of the nomination of candidate deputies, the conditions are created for /the nomination of an unrestricted number of/ candidacies. The participants in plenums may propose for discussion as a candidate deputy any candidacy, including their own; take part in the discussion of candidate deputies; and support the proposed candidacies or submit proposals for their withdrawal.

Any member of a social organization, [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] including religious figures, may be nominated as candidate for USSR people's deputy from that organization.

The decision on the nomination of candidate deputies is taken by open or secret ballot. The voting procedure is laid down by the plenums of the all-union organs of social organizations. Candidates are considered nominated if more than one-half of the members of the relevant organs vote for them. Decisions adopted by plenums of the all-union organs of social organizations are communicated to the candidate deputies.

The plenums make decisions to convene congresses, conferences, or all-union organ plenums to conduct elections of USSR people's deputies from the respective social organizations.

Article 40. Registration of candidates for USSR people's deputy

Candidates for USSR people's deputy from electoral okrugs are registered by okrug electoral commissions following applications by labor collectives, social organization organs, neighborhood meetings of voters, or unit meetings of servicemen which have nominated the candidate deputies, or by the okrug election campaign meeting if held.

Candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations are registered by electoral commissions for election from social organizations following an application by their all-union organs.

The registration of candidate deputies in electoral okrugs begins 2 months and ends 1 month prior to election day, and from social organizations not later than the 5th day following the plenum of their all-union organs held to nominate candidates for USSR people's deputy.

The decision to register candidate deputies is made on the basis of the following documents: the proceedings report of the meeting held to nominate candidate deputies for the respective electoral okrug and proceedings report of the okrug election campaign meeting if held, decisions by the all-union organ of a social organization, and also declarations by candidate deputies confirming their consent to stand for election in the respective electoral organ or by the social organization. /When nominated as candidate deputies, officials listed in Article 11 of the present law indicate in their statements their intention to quit the posts they hold if they are elected as deputies or notify the withdrawal of their candidacies./ The electoral commission compiles a protocol on the registration of candidate deputies and this protocol, together with the candidate deputies' declarations, is filed with the Central Electoral Commission.

The respective electoral commission /registers/ candidate deputies nominated in conformity with the demands of this law. Appeals against refusal to register can be filed within a 3-day period with the Central Electoral Commission.

A candidate deputy can stand for election in only one territorial or national-territorial electoral okrug or from one social organization.

A candidate deputy cannot be a member of the Central Electoral Commission or of an okrug or ward electoral commission in the electoral okrug where he has been nominated or of the electoral commission for elections from the social organization where he has been nominated. Any person nominated as a candidate deputy who is also a member of one of the aforementioned commissions is deemed to be released of his duties on the commission from the moment he is registered as a candidate deputy.

The respective electoral commission publishes in the press, not later than the 4th day following the registration of candidate deputies, a notification of registration giving each candidate deputy's surname, given name, and patronymic, year of birth, office held (occupation), and place of employment /and residence/.

Article 41. Revocation of decision to nominate a candidate for USSR people's deputy. Withdrawal of candidacy by candidate

A labor collective, social organization organ, neighborhood meeting of voters, unit meeting of servicemen, or social organization's all-union organ which has nominated a candidate for USSR people's deputy is entitled at any time prior to the election to revoke its decision to nominate the candidate deputy. A decision on this question is made according to the procedure laid down for the nomination of candidate deputies and is submitted to the respective electoral commission.

A candidate deputy can withdraw his candidacy at any time prior to the election by filing an application to this effect with the respective electoral commission.

Article 42. Procedure for the nomination of candidates for USSR people's deputy to replace former deputies

If candidates for USSR people's deputy pull out after the expiry of the deadline for the registration of candidate deputies and if no other candidates remain in the electoral okrug, the okrug electoral commission requests the electoral okrug's labor collectives/, social organizations, neighborhood meetings of voters, or unit meetings of servicemen/ to nominate new candidate deputies. If candidate deputies pull out less than 1 month before election day, elections for deputy from the respective electoral okrug are held within 2 months following the general elections.

If candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations pull out before the election and the total number of remaining candidates is [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] less than the number of seats, the respective electoral commission requests the all-union organ of the social organization to nominate new candidate deputies.

The nomination of candidate deputies to replace former deputies follows the procedure laid down by this law.

Article 43. The ballot paper

The ballot paper lists in alphabetical order all registered candidates for USSR people's deputy giving each candidate deputy's surname, given name, and patronymic, the office held (occupation), and the place of employment /and residence/. Ballot papers are printed in the languages used by the population of the electoral okrug.

If only one candidate deputy stands for election in an electoral okrug, the ballot also contains the words "For" and "Against."

The number of candidate deputies listed on the ballot paper for elections of USSR people's deputies from one or several social organizations must be greater than the number of deputies' seats allocated to these social organizations.

VII. Guarantees Relating to the Activity of Candidates for USSR People's Deputy

Article 44. The right of candidates for USSR people's deputy to address meetings, make use of the mass media, and obtain information

From the time of their registration by electoral commissions, candidates for USSR people's deputy have an equal right to address election campaign and other meetings, conferences, and sittings and to make use of the press, television, and radio.

State and social organs, enterprise, institution, and organization leaders, and organs of the population's independent social activity are obligated to assist candidates for USSR people's deputy in the organization of meetings with voters and members of social organizations and the supply of any necessary reference and information material.

Article 45. The election program of a candidate for USSR people's deputy

A candidate for USSR people's deputy /publishes/ a program of his future activity. The candidate deputy's program must not be contrary to the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

Article 46. Agents of a candidate for USSR people's deputy

A candidate for USSR people's deputy can have up to 10 agents who help him in running his election campaign, campaign for his election as deputy, and represent his interests in mutual relations with state and social organs, voters, and members of social organizations and in electoral commissions.

A candidate deputy selects his agents at his own discretion and notifies their identity for registration by the okrug electoral commission or the electoral commission for elections in social organizations. Following registration, the electoral commission issues certificates to the agents.

/An agent cannot serve on the respective electoral commission./

Article 47. Pre-election campaigning

Labor collectives, voters in their place of residence, and social organizations which have nominated candidate deputies are given the right to campaign freely for their candidates.

Labor collectives, voters in their place of residence, and social organizations are given access [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] to duly equipped premises for meetings and rallies, and also access to the mass media for the purpose of their election campaigning.

/USSR citizens, labor collectives, and social organizations are guaranteed the opportunity to freely and comprehensivelky discuss the political, professional, and personal qualities of candidate deputies and also the right to campaign for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio./

Candidates for USSR people's deputy meet with their voters both at meetings and in other ways convenient for voters. Voter meetings are organized by electoral commissions in conjunction with the relevant soviet of people's deputies /or its presidium/ and social organizations.

Voters are notified beforehand of the time and venue for meetings and gatherings.

Campaigning is not allowed on election day.

Article 48. Releasing candidates for USSR people's deputy from their production or official duties for the purpose of participating in pre-election events

After registration candidates for USSR people's deputy are released from their production or official duties while retaining their average salary—to be paid out of the funds allocated for the holding of the elections—for meetings with voters and speeches at pre-election meetings, rallies, and on television and radio.

Article 49. Entitlement to free travel for candidates for USSR people's deputy

After registration candidates for USSR people's deputy are entitled to free travel on all forms of passenger transport (with the exception of taxis) within their corresponding electoral okrugs. Candidate deputies living outside their electoral okrug enjoy the same entitlement with regard to travel between the electoral okrug and their place of residence.

The procedure and payment for travel by candidates for USSR people's deputy from social organizations for the purpose of participating in pre-election events are determined by those organizations' all-union organs.

Article 50. Immunity of candidates for USSR people's deputy

Candidates for USSR people's deputy cannot be indicted on a criminal charge, arrested, or subjected to administrative penalties imposed by the courts without the consent of the Central Electoral Commission.

VIII. Polling and Vote Counting Procedure

Article 51. Time and venue for polling

In elections for USSR people's deputies from electoral okrugs the polls are open from 0700 to 2000 local time on election day. Ward electoral commissions notify voters of the time and venue for polling not later than 10 days before the elections.

At electoral wards based on ships on voyage on election day, military units, polar stations, /remote and highly inaccessible areas, and also/ Soviet establishments abroad, ward electoral commissions may declare polling closed at any time if all voters listed on the roll have voted.

In elections for USSR people's deputies from social organizations polling takes place at a congress or conference of the social organization or at a plenum of its all-union organ. Enlarged plenums with the participation of representatives of other of these organizations' elective organs may be held. In such cases the deciding vote /is/ given to all plenum participants. Elections of /USSR/ people's deputies may also be held at combined congresses or conferences of multiple social organizations or plenums of their all-union organs.

Article 52. Organization of polling

Polling takes place on special premises, which should be equipped with a sufficient number of booths or rooms for secret voting, clearly defined areas for issuing ballot papers, and ballot boxes. Ballot boxes are to be set up in such a fashion that voters have to approach them via the booths or rooms for secret voting.

Responsibility for the organization of polling, the safeguarding of the secrecy of the voters' choice, the fitting out of premises, and the maintenance of the necessary order in them is to be borne correspondingly by the ward electoral commission or the electoral commission of the social organization.

On election day, before polling begins, the ballot boxes are checked and sealed by the chairman of the relevant electoral commission in the presence of all members of the commission.

Every voter/, congress or conference delegate, or participant in a plenum/ votes in person; voting on behalf of other persons is not permitted. Ballot papers are issued by the relevant electoral commission on the basis of the electoral roll for the electoral ward, a voting entitlement certificate, or the list of voters at a congress or conference of a social organization or plenum of its all-union organ on presentation of a passport or other personal identification. The electoral roll or list of voters is marked to indicate the issuing of ballot papers. Voting entitlement certificates are attached to the supplementary list of voters.

In cases where individual voters, for reasons of health or other reasons, are unable to attend the polling station, the ward electoral commission, at their request, instructs individual members of the commission to organize balloting where these voters are. [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

Article 53. Conduct of voting

Ballot papers are completed by the voter in a secret ballot booth or room. The presence of any person other than the voter during completion of the ballot paper is prohibited. A voter who is unable to complete the ballot paper independently has the right to invite into the booth or room any other person at his own discretion, other than a member of the electoral commission.

In elections of USSR people's deputies for electoral okrugs, the voter /strikes out from the ballot paper the names of the candidates against whom he is voting./

In elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations, the voter /strikes out from the ballot paper the names of the candidates against whom he is voting./

The voter drops the completed ballot paper into the ballot box.

Article 54. Counting votes in the electoral ward

In elections of USSR people's deputies from electoral districts, the counting of votes in the electoral ward is carried out separately for each electoral okrug and for each candidate deputy.

The ballot boxes are opened by the ward electoral commission [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] after the chairman of the commission has announced that voting has finished. Opening the ballot boxes before the end of voting is prohibited. Prior to the opening of ballot boxes all unused ballot papers are counted and canceled by the ward electoral commission.

The ward electoral commission establishes from the main and supplementary lists of voters the total number of voters in the ward, as well as the number of voters who have received ballot papers. On the basis of the ballot papers found in the ballot boxes, the commission establishes for each electoral okrug (within the electoral ward in question): the total number of voters who took part in the vote; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballot papers deemed invalid. Votes for citizens whose names are added to the ballot papers by voters are not counted.

Ballot papers are deemed invalid if they are not of the prescribed format, and if, in voting, the name of more than one candidate has been left on [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]. If doubt arises as to the validity of a ballot paper the question is resolved by the ward electoral commission by a vote.

The results of the counting of votes are examined at a session of the ward electoral commission and recorded on a protocol drawn up separately for each electoral okrug. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and is dispatched to the relevant okrug electoral commission according to the procedure laid down by the Central Electoral Commission.

Article 55. Determining the results of elections for an electoral okrug

On the basis of the ward electoral commissions' protocols the okrug electoral commission determines: the total number of voters for the okrug; the number of voters who received ballot papers; the number of voters who took part in the ballot; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate deputy; and the number of ballot papers deemed invalid.

A candidate for USSR people's deputy is deemed to be elected if he receives in the elections more than one-half of the votes of voters taking part in the ballot.

The okrug electoral commission may deem the elections invalid because of violations of the present law occurring in the course of the elections or the counting of votes.

The elections are deemed void if fewer than one-half of the voters registered on the electoral roll took part, and also as a result of the death of the candidate deputy if only one candidate is registered for the okrug.

The results of elections for the electoral okrug are established at a session of the okrug electoral commission and recorded on the protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission in accordance with the procedure it has laid down.

An announcement of the results of the elections for the electoral okrug is published in the press by the relevant okrug electoral commission within the time prescribed by the Central Electoral Commission. The announcement indicates the total number of citizens on the electoral rolls; the number of voters who took part in the ballot; the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against each candidate; the number of invalid ballot papers; and the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), /party membership/, and place of work /and residence/ of the elected deputy.

Article 56. The counting of votes and establishment of results of elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations

The counting of votes in elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations is carried out by electoral commissions for the elections from social organizations for each candidate deputy in accordance with the procedure prescribed by the present law for ward electoral commissions.

Ballot papers not of the prescribed format are deemed invalid. If doubt arises as to the validity of a ballot paper the question is resolved by the electoral commission by a vote.

Candidates are deemed to be elected if they receive in the elections the most votes in accordance with the number of seats and more than one-half of the votes of the delegates to the congresses or conferences of social organizations or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs who took part in the ballot.

The elections are deemed void if fewer than one-half of the delegates to the congresses or conferences of social organizations or participants in the plenums of their all-union organs included on the lists of voters took part.

The election results are established at a session of the electoral commission and recorded in the protocol. The protocol is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the electoral commission and dispatched to the Central Electoral Commission according to the procedure it has laid down.

Announcements of the results of elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations are published in the press by the electoral commissions for the elections from social organizations within the time prescribed by the Central Electoral Commission. The announcement indicates the number of delegates to the congress or conference of the social organization or participants in the plenum of its all-union organ who took part in the elections; the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), /party membership/, and place of work /and residence/ of each elected deputy; and the number of votes cast for, and the number of votes cast against him.

IX. Procedure for Summing Up and Publishing the Results of Elections of USSR People's Deputies

Article 57. Registration of USSR people's deputies

The Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies, on the basis of the protocols sent to it by the electoral commissions, registers the elected USSR people's deputies.

The Central Electoral Commission may deem the elections invalid if in the course of the elections or the counting of votes or in determining the results of the elections violations of the present law took place, in which case it may refuse to register a USSR people's deputy.

Article 58. Publication of results of elections of USSR people's deputies

The Central Electoral Commission publishes an announcement of the results of the elections for the country as a whole and a list of elected USSR people's deputies in the press within 10 days, in alphabetical order, indicating the surname, forename, and patronymic, post (occupation), /party membership,/ place of work /and residence/ of the deputy, and the electoral okrug or social organization from which he is elected deputy.

Article 59. Certificate and badge of a USSR people's deputy

The okrug electoral commission or electoral commission for elections from a social organization, after publication in the press of the list of USSR people's deputies registered by the Central Electoral Commission, issues each elected deputy with a certificate of election.

After ratification of the credentials of the elected deputies by the USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies, the certificates of election that were issued to them are replaced by the certificate of a USSR people's deputy. The deputy is also issued with a "USSR People's Deputy" badge.

X. Repeat Balloting, Repeat Elections, and Elections of USSR People's Deputies To Replace Outgoing Deputies

Article 60. Repeat balloting

If more than two candidates for USSR people's deputy ran for an electoral okrug and none of them was elected, the okrug electoral commission takes the decision to hold a repeat ballot in the okrug between the two candidate deputies who received the most votes. The okrug /electoral/ commission reports this decision to the Central Electoral Commission and informs the okrug's voters. A repeat ballot in an electoral okrug is held within not more than 2 weeks in accordance with the requirements of the present law.

A repeat ballot in elections of USSR people's deputies from social organizations takes place in the event of an equal number of votes being cast for individual candidate deputies, making it impossible to determine the deputies elected. A repeat ballot between these candidate deputies is held at congresses or conferences of the social organizations or plenums of their all-union organs on the same day or on the next day in accordance with the requirements of the present law.

/The candidate for USSR people's deputy who has received in the repeat ballot the largest number of votes, in relation to the other candidates, from voters, delegates to the congress or conference of the social organization, or participants in the plenum of its all-union organ who took part in the vote is deemed to be elected./

Article 61. Repeat elections

If no more than two candidates for USSR people's deputy ran for an electoral okrug and neither of them was elected, or the elections for the electoral okrug were deemed void or invalid, or a repeat ballot did not make it possible to determine the deputy elected, the Central Auditing Commission instructs the okrug electoral commission to hold repeat elections in the electoral okrug. It may adopt a decision on the need for the elections to be conducted by a new okrug electoral commission and ward electoral commissions. Voting takes place in the same electoral wards and on the basis of the electoral rolls compiled for the conduct of general elections.

Repeat elections are held within not more than 2 months after the general elections. The formation of electoral commissions, registration of candidate deputies, and other measures take place according to the procedure laid down by the present law.

In cases where the number of deputies elected is less than the number of seats, or where the elections from a social organization are deemed invalid, the Central Electoral Commission adopts the decision to hold repeat elections from the social organization in question. In repeat elections, the necessary number of additional deputies are elected, or all the deputies for a given social organization if the elections held earlier were deemed invalid. Here the Central Electoral Commission may instruct the same electoral commission to conduct the elections or may propose that the all-union organ of the social organization form a new electoral commission.

Article 62. Conduct of elections of USSR people's deputies to replace outgoing deputies

In the event that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies deems the credentials of individual USSR people's deputies to be invalid, and also in the event of the recall of a deputy or the early termination of a deputy's credentials for other reasons, new elections are held in the relevant electoral okrugs or social organizations within 3 months of the loss of the deputy. Elections are set by the Central Electoral Commission at least 2 months before the holding of the elections, and are organized in accordance with the requirements of the present law. The okrug electoral commission or the electoral commission for elections from a social organization is formed 50 days before the elections and the ward electoral commissions 1 month before the elections, and the registration of candidate deputies ends 1 month before the elections.

In the event of the loss of a USSR people's deputy less than 1 year before the expiry of the term of office of the USSR [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] people's deputies, no new USSR people's deputy is elected to replace the outgoing deputy.

/M. Gorbachev

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

T. Menteshashvili

Secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Moscow, Kremlin. 1 December 1988./

Law on Constitutional Amendments

PM0212200188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 88 First Edition pp 1-2

["USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)"; passages diverging from draft law by rewording or addition enclosed in slantlines; notes in brackets indicate points at which text has been deleted from draft]

[Text] With a view to the development of socialist democracy, self-government [samoupravleniye] by the people, and the improvement of the electoral system, structure, and activity of soviets of people's deputies and organs of justice, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

I. To make the following amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution:

1. Chapter 12 is to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 12

"System and Principles of Activity of the Soviets of People's Deputies

"Article 89. The soviets of people's deputies—the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the congresses of people's deputies and supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and local soviets of people's deputies—kray soviets, oblast soviets, soviets of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs, rayon soviets, city soviets, rayon soviets within cities, settlement soviets, and village soviets—make up an integrated system of representative organs of state power.

"Article 90. The term of office of soviets of people's deputies is 5 years.

"Elections [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] of people's deputies are to be set no later than 4 months prior to the expiry of the term of office of the corresponding organs of state power.

"Article 91. The most important questions of unionwide, republican, and local significance are resolved at sessions of the congresses of people's deputies and sessions of supreme soviets and local soviets /of people's deputies or are put to referendums by them/.

"The congresses of people's deputies elect the supreme soviets and chairmen of supreme /soviets. Local/ soviets /of people's deputies/ elect the chairmen of the soviets. Supreme Soviets and local soviets of people's deputies, with the exception of /city (in cities under rayon subordination),/ settlement and village soviets, /have/ their own presidiums.

"Soviets of people's deputies form standing commissions and set up executive and administrative [rasporyaditelnyy] organs, as well as other organs accountable to them.

"Officials elected or appointed by soviets of people's deputies may not hold their posts for more than two terms in succession.

/"Any official can be released from his post early if he fails to perform his official duties properly./

"Article 92. The soviets of people's deputies form organs of people's control, combining state control with social control by working people at enterprises, institutions, and [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] organizations.

"The organs of people's control verify the fulfillment of the requirements of legislation and state programs and targets; combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism and a departmental approach to the task, thriftlessness and extravagance, red tape, and bureaucracy; coordinate the work of other control organs; and promote the improvement of the structure and work of the state apparatus.

"Article 93. The soviets of people's deputies, directly and through the organs they set up, lead all sectors of state, economic, and sociocultural buidling, adopt decisions, ensure their execution, and exercise control over the implementation of decisions.

"Article 94. The activity of the soviets of people's deputies is based on collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions, glasnost, regular accountability of executive and management organs and other organs created by the soviets to them and to the population, and the wide involvement of citizens in participation in their work.

"The soviets of people's deputies and the organs set up by them take account of public opinion, submit the most important questions of statewide and local significance for discussion by citizens, and systematically inform citizens about their work and the decisions adopted."

2. Chapter 13 is to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 13

"The Electoral System

"Article 95. Elections of people's deputies take place in single-seat and multiseat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. /With a view to ensuring the representation of social organizations, in accordance with norms established by laws of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics,/ one-third of the people's deputies of the USSR and people's deputies of union and autonomous republics are elected from social organizations—the CPSU, trade unions, cooperative organizations, the All-Union Lenin Komsomol, associations of women, war and labor veterans, and scientific workers, creative unions, and other [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] organizations [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] that have been set up in accordance with the procedure laid down by law and that have all-union or republican organs. Elections of people's deputies from social organizations take place at their congresses or conferences or at plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"Article 96. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are universal: USSR citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations belongs to all delegates to their congresses or conferences or participants in plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"A citizen of the USSR who has reached the age of 18 may be elected a people's deputy, and a citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected a USSR people's deputy.

"A citizen of the USSR may not be a deputy of more than two soviets of people's deputies simultaneously.

"Persons belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers, the Councils of Ministers of union and autonomous republics, and local soviet ispolkoms, with the exception of the chairmen of these organs, [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] leaders of departments [vedomstva], /departments [otdely], and administrations of local soviet ispolkoms, judges, and state arbiters, may not be deputies of the soviet to which they are appointed or elected./ [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

"Citizens who are mentally ill and are deemed by the court to be incompetent, persons confined to places of imprisonment, and also persons sent to compulsory treatment centers by a decision of the court do not participate in elections.

"Article 97. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal: A voter for each electoral okrug has one vote; voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

"In elections of people's deputies from a social organization, each delegate to its congress or conference or participant in the plenum has one vote, and they all participate in elections on an equal basis.

"Article 98. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct [pryamoy]: People's deputies are elected by citizens directly [neposredstvenno].

"People's deputies from social organizations are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences or the participants in plenums of their all-union or republican organs.

"Article 99. Voting at elections of people's deputies is secret: /Monitoring [kontrol] of the voters' exercise of franchise [voleizyavleniye] is not permitted./

"Article 100. Labor collectives, social organizations, voters' meetings at their place of residence, and servicemen's meetings in military units have the right to nominate candidates for people's deputy representing electoral okrugs, and the nomination of candidates for people's deputy from social organizations is the right of their all-union or republican organs, which take into account the /proposals regarding candidate deputies received from these organizations' local organs,/ grassroots collectives and members.

"There are no restrictions on the number of candidate /people's/ deputies [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]; any participant in an election meeting can propose for discussion any candidacy, including his own.

"Ballot papers /can include any number of candidates/.

"During elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs, okrug election meetings can be held to discuss the candidate deputies nominated for the okrug and to make decisions on submitting candidates for registration to the relevant electoral commission.

"The expenses involved in /preparing and/ holding elections of people's deputies are met by the state.

"Article 101. Preparations for elections /of people's deputies/ are carried out openly and in an atmosphere of glasnost [glasno].

"The holding of elections is ensured by electoral commissions, which are composed of representatives of labor collectives, social organizations, and voters' meetings at their place of residence and servicemen's meetings in military units.

"Citizens of the USSR, labor collectives, and social organizations are guaranteed the possibility of free and comprehensive discussion of candidate /people's/ deputies' political, professional, and personal qualities, and also the right to campaign [agitatsiya] for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio.

"The procedure for holding elections of people's deputies is defined by laws of the USSR and of union and autonomous republics.

"Article 102. Voters and social organizations give mandates to their deputies.

"The appropriate soviets of people's deputies examine the mandates, take them into account when formulating economic and social development plans and drawing up the budget, /and also in preparing decisions on other questions,/ organize the fulfillment of mandates, and inform citizens about their implementation."

3. Chapter 15 is to read as follows:

"CHAPTER 15

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 108. The supreme organ of USSR state power is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is empowered to adopt for its examination and decide any question within the jurisdiction of the USSR.

"The following are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies:

"1) the adoption and amendment of the USSR Constitution;

"2) the adoption of decisions on questions of the /national-state structure within the jurisdiction of the USSR/;

"3) the definition of the USSR state border; the ratification of changes in the borders between union republics;

"4) the definition of the basic guidelines of USSR domestic and foreign policy;

"5) the ratification of long-term state plans and highly important all-union programs for the economic and social development of the USSR;

"6) the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"7) the election of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

"8) the election of the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"9) the ratification of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers;

"10) the ratification of the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR prosecutor general, and the USSR chief state arbiter;

"11) the election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

"12) the repeal of [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] acts adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet [word or words deleted from draft law at this point].

"13) the adoption of decisions on holding nationwide polls (referendums).

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopts USSR laws and resolutions by a majority of votes of the total number of USSR people's deputies.

"Article 109. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies consists of 2,250 deputies who are elected as follows:

"750 deputies from territorial electoral okrugs with an equal number of voters;

"750 deputies from national-territorial electoral okrugs in accordance with the following norms: 32 deputies from each union republic, 11 deputies from each autonomous republic, 5 deputies from each autonomous oblast, and 1 deputy from each autonomous okrug;

"750 deputies from all-union social organizations in accordance with the /norms laid down by the USSR Law on Elections of People's Deputies/.

"Article 110. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened for its first session no later than 2 months following the elections.

"On the representation of the credentials commission electable by it, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopts a decision to recognize the powers of the deputies, and—in the event of a violation of election legislation—to recognize the invalidity of individual deputies' election.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Routine sittings of the /USSR Congress of People's Deputies/ are held once a year. Extraordinary sittings are convened on the initiative of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on a proposal by one of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, or no fewer than one-fifth of the USSR people's deputies, or on the initiative of a union republic in the shape of its supreme organ of state power.

"The first sitting of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies following the elections is chaired by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission /for the Elections of USSR People's Deputies/ and subsequently by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy.

"Article 111. The USSR Supreme Soviet is the standing legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of USSR state power.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by secret vote from among the USSR people's deputies by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and is accountable to the latter.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet /consists of/ two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which are numerically equal. The chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet possess equal rights.

"The chambers are elected at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies by a general vote by the deputies. The Soviet of the Union is elected from among the USSR people's deputies from the territorial electoral okrugs and the USSR people's deputies from social organizations /taking into account the number of voters in the union republic or region/. The Soviet of Nationalities is elected from among the USSR people's deputies from the national-territorial electoral okrugs and the USSR people's deputies from social organizations [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] in accordance with the following norms: /11/ deputies from each union republic, 4 deputies from each autonomous republic, 2 deputies from each autonomous oblast, and 1 deputy from each autonomous okrug.

"The USSR Congress of People's Deputies annually renews [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] one-fifth of the membership of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

"Each chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet elects a chamber chairman and two deputy chairmen. The chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities chair the sittings of their corresponding chambers and are in charge of their internal proceedings.

"Joint sittings of the chambers are chaired by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his first deputy, or the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities in turn.

"Article 112. The USSR Supreme Soviet is convened annually by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for regular spring and fall sessions, each lasting 3-4 months as a rule.

"Extraordinary sessions are convened by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at its initiative or at the proposal of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a union republic in the form of its supreme organ of state power, or at least one-third of the deputies from either chamber /of the USSR Supreme Soviet/.

"USSR Supreme Soviet sessions take the form of separate and joint sittings of the chambers and of sittings of the chambers' permanent commissions and the USSR Supreme Soviet committees held between sessions. A session is opened and closed at separate or joint sittings of the chambers.

"Upon the expiry of the /term of/ powers of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet retains its powers right until the formation of a new composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet by the newly elected USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"Article 113. The USSR Supreme Soviet:

"1) schedules elections of USSR people's deputies and ratifies the composition of the Central Electoral Commission /on Elections of USSR People's Deputies/;

"2) appoints the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, ratifies the composition of the USSR Council of Ministers on his recommendation, or changes its composition; at the suggestion of the USSR Council of Ministers it creates or abolishes USSR ministries and USSR state committees;

"3) forms the USSR Defense Council and ratifies its composition; appoints and effects changes in the supreme command of the USSR Armed Forces;

"4) elects the USSR Committee for People's Control and the USSR Supreme Court, appoints the USSR general prosecutor and the USSR chief state arbiter; ratifies the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium and the USSR State Board of Arbitration Collegium;

"5) regularly hears reports by organs constituted or elected by it and by officials appointed /or elected/ by it;

"6) ensures the uniformity of legislative regulations throughout the territory of the USSR and lays the foundations for legislation by the USSR and the union republics;

"7) implements /within the limits of the competence of the USSR/ legislative regulation of property relations, the organization of the management of the national economy and of social and cultural building, the budget and finance system, labor remuneration and price formation, taxation, environmental protection and utilization of natural resources, the /procedure for the realization of the constitutional rights, freedoms, and duties of citizens, and also other relations/;

"8) interprets USSR laws;

"9) lays down general principles /of the organization and/ activity of republic and local organs of state power and administration; determines the /foundations of the/ legal status of social organizations;

"10) [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] submits for ratification by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies draft long-term state plans and the most important all-union programs for the USSR's economic and social development; ratifies the state plans for the USSR's economic and social development and the USSR state budget; monitors progress in the implementation of the plan and budget; ratifies reports on their performance; introduces amendments to the plan and budget whenever necessary;

"/11)/ ratifies and denounces the USSR's international treaties;

"/12) oversees the granting of state loans and economic and other assistance to foreign states, and also the conclusion of agreements on state loans and credits obtained from foreign sources;

"13)/ determines basic measures in the spheres of defense and of ensuring state security; proclaims universal or partial mobilization; proclaims a state of war in the event of armed attack on the USSR or in the event of the need to meet international treaty obligations for mutual defense against aggression;

"/14)/ makes decisions on the use of USSR Armed Forces contingents in the event of the need to meet international treaty obligations for the maintenance of peace and security;

"/15)/ establishes military ranks, /diplomatic ranks,/ and other special ranks;

"/16)/ institutes USSR orders and medals; confers honorary titles of the USSR;

"/17)/ promulgates all-union acts of amnesty;

"/18)/ is empowered to repeal /decrees and resolutions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, orders of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and/ resolutions and orders of the USSR Council of Ministers;

"/19)/ repeals resolutions and orders by union republic councils of ministers if they are inconsistent with the USSR Constitution and /USSR/ laws;

"/20)/ decides other issues falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR, apart from issues which fall within the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's deputies.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet adopts USSR laws and resolutions.

"Laws and resolutions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet cannot be contrary to laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's deputies.

"Article 114. The right to initiate legislation in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet is vested in USSR people's deputies, the Soviet of the Union, the Soviet of Nationalities, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, /the Constitutional Oversight Committee,/ the USSR Council of Ministers, union republics in the shape of their supreme organs of state power, /standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet,/ the USSR Committee for People's Control, the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR general prosecutor, and the USSR chief state arbiter.

"The right to initiate legislation is also vested in social organizations in the shape of their all-union organs, and in the USSR Academy of Sciences.

"Article 115. Draft laws submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet are discussed by its chambers at separate or joint sittings.

"A USSR law is deemed adopted if a majority of chamber members votes for it in each chamber /of the USSR Supreme Soviet/.

"Draft laws and other important issues of state life can be submitted for nationwide discussion following a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted either on its own initiative or on a proposal by a union republic in the shape of its supreme organ of state power.

"Article 116. Each chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet is empowered to examine any questions falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The Soviet of the Union primarily examines questions of socioeconomic development and state building of general importance for the entire country; of the rights, freedoms, and duties of USSR citizens; of /USSR/ foreign policy; of the USSR's defense and state security.

"The Soviet of Nationalities primarily examines questions of [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] ensuring national equality and the interests of nations, nationalities, and ethnic groups in combination with the general interests and needs of the Soviet multinational state; of improvements to /USSR/ legislation regulating /interethnic/ relations.

/"Each chamber adopts resolutions on questions within its competence./

"Any resolution adopted by one of the chambers, /if necessary,/ is referred to the other chamber and, when approved by it, acquires the force of a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution.

"Article 117. In the event of disagreement between the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities the question is handed over for resolution by a conciliation commission formed by the chambers on the basis of parity, after which the question is again examined by the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities at a joint session. If agreement is not reached even then, the question is passed on for consideration by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"Article 118. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is an organ accountable to the USSR Supreme Soviet which carries out the organization of the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other powers within the limits provided for by the USSR Constitution and laws.

"The following are ex officio members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the 15 deputy chairmen /of the USSR Supreme Soviet/ who are chairmen of the union republic Supreme Soviets, the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities, the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, and the chairmen of the standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is headed by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 119. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"1) convenes sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"2) organizes the preparation of sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"3) coordinates the activity of the standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet;

"4) assists people's deputies of the USSR in the exercise of their powers and provides them with the necessary information;

"5) /oversees compliance with the USSR Constitution and ensures that the constitutions and laws of the union republics conform with the USSR Constitution and laws;

"6)/ organizes the preparation and holding of nationwide votes (referendums), and also nationwide discussions of draft USSR laws and other very important questions of state life;

"/7)/ confers the highest military titles, diplomatic ranks, and other special titles;

"/8)/ awards USSR orders and medals and confers USSR titles of honor;

"/9)/ admits people to citizenship of the USSR; resolves questions of the renunciation of USSR citizenship and deprivation of USSR citizenship and the granting of asylum;

"/10)/ grants pardons;

"/11)/ appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the USSR in foreign states and on international organizations;

"/12)/ receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to /it/;

"/13)/ in the period between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, declares a general or partial mobilization; declares a state of war in the event of a military attack on the USSR or in the event of the necessity to fulfill international treaty commitments for mutual defense against aggression;

"/14)/ in the interests of the defense of the USSR /and the safety of its citizens/, declares a state of martial law or emergency /for the whole country, and also in particular localities—with mandatory examination of this question with the supreme soviet presidium of the relevant union republic; in the aforementioned instances it can introduce special forms of administration exercised by state organs of the USSR and the union republics;

"15) publishes in the languages of the union republics USSR laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet./

"The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium issues decrees and adopts resolutions.

"Article 120. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is the highest official of the Soviet state and represents the USSR within the country and in international relations.

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from among USSR people's deputies by secret ballot for a term of 5 years and for not more than two successive terms. He may at any time be recalled by secret ballot by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 121. The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

"1) exercises overall leadership of the preparation of questions that are subject to examination by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet; signs USSR laws and other acts adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] the USSR Supreme Soviet, /and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium/;

"2) submits to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet reports on the state of the country and on important questions of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy and of ensuring the defense capability and security of the USSR;

"3) submits to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies the candidacy for election to the post of first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as proposals on the personnel of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

"4) submits to the USSR Supreme Soviet candidacies for appointment /or election/ to the posts of chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, USSR general prosecutor, and USSR chief state arbiter, and then submits these officials to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies for ratification;

"5) heads the USSR Defense Council;

"6) conducts talks and signs international treaties of the USSR; [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]

"The chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet issues orders [rasporyazheniya].

"The first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the deputy chairmen /of the USSR Supreme Soviet/ fulfill some of the functions of the chairman /of the USSR Supreme Soviet/ on his authority, and deputize for the chairman in the event of his absence or inability to carry out his duties.

"Article 122. The Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities elect from among the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet and other people's deputies of the USSR standing commissions of the chambers to carry out the drafting of laws and preliminary examination and preparation of matters falling within the jurisdiction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and also to promote the implementation of USSR laws and other decisions adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and to monitor the activity of state organs and organizations.

"For the same purposes, the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet may set up USSR Supreme Soviet committees on a basis of parity.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet and each of its chambers, when they deem it necessary, set up investigating, auditing, or other commissions on any matter.

"The standing commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet annually renew [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] one-fifth of their membership.

"Article 123. Laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and resolutions of its chambers are adopted, as a rule, after preliminary discussion of the drafts by the appropriate standing commissions of the chambers or committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The /appointment and election/ of officials belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR People's Control Committee, and the USSR Supreme Court, and also of the collegiums of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR State Board of Arbitration may take place given the existence of findings of the relevant standing commissions of the chambers or committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"All state and social organs, organizations, and officials must fulfill the requirements of the commissions of the chambers, commissions, and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and provide them with the necessary materials and documents.

"The recommendations of commissions and committees are subject to compulsory examination by state and social organs, institutions, and organizations. The results of the examination and the measures adopted must be reported to the commissions and committees within the time laid down by them.

"Article 124. At sittings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet the USSR people's deputy has the right to put questions to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the USSR Council of Ministers, and to the leaders of other organs formed or elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. The organ or official to whom the question is put must provide an oral or written response at the Congress sitting or USSR Supreme Soviet session in question within no more than 3 days.

"USSR people's deputies are released from performing official or production duties for the specific period necessary to carry out their activity as deputies in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, commissions, and committees, and also among the population. USSR people's deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet /can be/ released from performing official or production duties for the entire period of their powers in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The USSR people's deputy cannot be subjected to criminal proceedings, arrested, or subjected to judicially imposed administrative penalties without the consent of the USSR Supreme Soviet /or, in the period between its sessions, without the consent of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium/.

"Article 125. The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, /with a term of office of 10 years,/ is elected by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies from among specialists in the sphere of politics and the law and comprises a chairman, deputy chairman, and /21/ members of the committee, /including representatives from every union republic./

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee cannot simultaneously be members of the organs whose acts are overseen by the committee.

"Persons elected to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are independent in performing their duties and are subordinate only to the USSR Constitution.

"The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee:

"1) on its own initiative or on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies submits to the Congress findings on the conformity with the USSR Constitution of draft USSR laws subject to examination by the Congress;

"2) on its own initiative, on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, or at the /proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme organs of state power of the union republics/ submits to the USSR Supreme Soviet findings on the conformity of acts of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its chambers, and also of draft acts of these organs, with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws adopted by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies;

"3) watches over the conformity of union republics' constitutions and laws and resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the union republics' Councils of Ministers with the /USSR Constitution and USSR laws/;

"4) on its own initiative, on the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, or at the proposals of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its chambers, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its committees, /the USSR Council of Ministers, and the supreme organs of state power of the union republics/ provides findings on the conformity of normative acts of other state organs and social organizations with the /USSR Constitution and USSR laws/.

"When an [word or words deleted from draft law at this point] act or particular provisions of it are found to contravene the /USSR Constitution or USSR laws/, the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee sends its findings to the organ that issued the act so that the violation can be eliminated. The /adoption by the committee of/ such findings suspends the execution of the act or particular provisions contravening the /USSR Constitution or USSR law./

"The USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is entitled to make representations [vkhodit c predstavleniye] to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, or the USSR Council of Ministers regarding the repeal of acts by organs or officials accountable to them which contravene the /USSR Constitution or USSR law./

"The organization and procedure for the activity of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are defined by the Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR.

"Article 126. The USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Court monitor the activity of all their subordinate state organs.

"The USSR Supreme Soviet guides the activity of the USSR Committee for People's Control, which heads the system of for people's control organs.

"The organization and procedure of work of people's control organs are laid down by the Law on People's Control in the USSR.

"Article 127. The procedure of work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and their organs is determined by the regulations of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and by other USSR laws promulgated on the basis of the USSR Constitution."

4. Articles 152, 153, and 155 of Chapter 20, "Courts and Arbitration," are to read as follows:

"Article 152. All courts in the USSR are constituted on the principle of the electivity of judges and lay assessors.

"People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts /and the judges of kray, oblast, and city courts are elected by the relevant superior soviet's of people's deputies.

"Judges of the USSR Supreme Court, the supreme courts of the union and autonomous republics, and the courts of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs are elected by, respective, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the supreme soviets of the union and autonomous republics, and the soviets of people's deputies of autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs.

"The lay assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are elected at citizens' meetings at their place of residence or work by open ballot, and the people's assessors of superior courts are elected by the relevant soviets of people's deputies./

"Military tribunal judges are elected by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and lay assessors by servicemen's meetings /by open ballot/.

"Judges of all courts are elected for a term of 10 years. Lay assessors of all courts are elected for a term of 5 years.

"Judges and lay assessors are accountable to the /organs or voters/ which have elected them, report back to them, and can be recalled in accordance with the legally established procedure.

"Article 153. The USSR Supreme Court is the supreme judicial organ in the USSR and oversees the judicial activity of USSR courts and of union republic courts within the parameters laid down by the law.

"The USSR Supreme Court consists of a chairman, his deputies, members, and lay assessors. Chairmen of union republic supreme courts are ex officio members of the USSR Supreme Court.

"The organization and procedure of work of the USSR Supreme Court are determined by the Law on the USSR Supreme Court."

"Article 155. Judges and lay assessors are independent and are subordinate only to the law.

"Conditions are provided for judges and lay assessors to effectively exercise their rights and duties without hindrance. Any interference in the activity of judges and lay assessors in the administration of justice is impermissible /and entails legal liability/.

"The immunity of judges and lay assessors and /other [inoy]/ guarantees of their independence are laid down by the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR and other USSR and union republic legislative acts."

II. Pursuant to the new edition of Chapters 12, 13, and 15 of the USSR Constitution, the ensuing amendments and additions are to be introduced in the following articles of the USSR Constitution:

1. First part of article 77, following the words "within the jurisdiction of the USSR" add the words "at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies."

2. Third part of article 103 is to read as follows:

"In their activity deputies are guided by statewide interests, take into account the requests of the electoral okrug's population and the /expressed/ interests of the social organization which has elected them, and strive to implement the mandates of the voters and the social organization."

3. Article 104 is to read as follows:

"Article 104. Deputies exercise their powers without, as a rule, interrupting their production or official activity.

"During sittings of /congresses of people's deputies and sessions of supreme soviets or local soviets of people's deputies/, and also for the exercise of deputy powers in other instances envisaged by the law, deputies are released from carrying out their production or official duties /and are reimbursed for expenses occasioned by their activities as deputies via funds from the relevant state or local budget/."

4. The first part of article 105 is to read as follows:

"Deputies have the right of inquiry of the appropriate state organs and officials, which are obligated to respond to the inquiry at a Congress of People's Deputies or a session of the supreme soviet or local soviet /of people's deputies/."

5. Article 107 is to read as follows:

"Article 107. Deputies are obligated to report on their own work and the work of a Congress of People's Deputies or a supreme soviet or local soviet /of people's deputies/ to the voters, the collectives and social organizations which nominated them to be candidate deputies, or to the social organization which elected them.

"Deputies who fail to justify the trust of voters /or the social organization/ may be recalled at any time in the legally established manner by a decision of the majority of voters or the social organization which elected them."

6. Article 130 is to read as follows:

"Article 130. The USSR Council of Ministers is responsible and answerable to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"The newly formed USSR Council of Ministers submits for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet a program of forthcoming activity for its term of office.

"The USSR Council of Ministers reports /at least once per year/ on its work to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

7. The first part of article 131 is to read as follows:

"The USSR Council of Ministers is empowered to resolve all questions of state administration relating to the jurisdiction of the USSR insofar as they are not, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, within the competence of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet."

8. Article 133 is to read as follows:

"Article 133. On the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers publishes resolutions and orders and verifies their implementation. The resolutions and orders of the USSR Council of Ministers are binding for implementation throughout the territory of the USSR."

9. In article 135:

delete from the third part the words "the procedure for transferring enterprises and associations from republic and local jurisdiction to union jurisdiction is determined by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium";

in the fourth part replace the words "on the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium" with the words "on the basis and in execution of USSR laws and other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet."

10. Article 137 is to read as follows:

"Article 137. A union republic's supreme organ of state power is the union republic congress of people's deputies.

"/The powers of the union republic congress of people's deputies are defined by the/ constitution of the union republic. [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]"

11. Article 138 is to read as follows:

"Article 138. The supreme soviet of a union republic is the permanent legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of state power of the union republic. The supreme soviet of a union republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies of the union republic.

"The chairman of the supreme soviet of a union republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the union republic.

"The powers of the supreme soviet of the union republic, its presidium, and the chairman of the union republic supreme soviet are defined by the constitution of the union republic."

12. The second part of Article 139 is to read as follows:

"The council of ministers of a union republic is responsible to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the union republic and is accountable to them."

13. Article 143 is to read as follows:

"Article 143. The supreme organ of state power of an autonomous republic is the congress of people's deputies of the autonomous republic. [word or words deleted from draft law at this point]"

14. Article 144 is to read as follows:

"Article 144. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is the permanent legislative, administrative, and monitoring organ of state power of the autonomous republic. The supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies of the autonomous republic.

"The chairman of the supreme soviet of an autonomous republic is accountable to the congress of people's deputies and the supreme soviet of the autonomous republic.

"The council of ministers of an autonomous republic is responsible to the congress of people's deputies and supreme soviet of the autonomous republic and is accountable to them."

15. Articles 149 and 150 are to read as follows:

"Article 149. The work of kray, oblast, autonomous oblast, autonomous okrug, rayon, city, and city rayon soviets of people's deputies is organized by their presidiums, headed by the chairmen of the soviets, and in /city (cities under rayon subordination),/ settlement, and village soviets by the chairmen of those soviets.

"Article 150. The executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies are the executive committees elected by them.

"Executive committees report at least once a year to the soviets that elected them, and also to meetings of labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence.

"Executive committees of local soviets are directly accountable both to the soviet that elected them and to the higher executive and administrative organ."

16. Article 165 is to read as follows:

"Article 165. The USSR prosecutor general is responsible to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet and is accountable to them."

17. Article 174 is to read as follows:

"Article 174. The amendment of the USSR Constitution takes place by a decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies adopted by a majority of at least two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the USSR."

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The Kremlin, Moscow, 1 December 1988

Resolution on March 1989 Elections

PM0512092988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the Date for Elections of USSR People's Deputies'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In accordance with Article 90 of the USSR Constitution and Articles 14 and 16 of the USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. That elections of USSR people's deputies be held on Sunday, 26 March 1989.

2. That the norm for voters per territorial electoral okrug in the elections of USSR people's deputies be set at 257,300 voters.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, Kremlin. 1 December 1988.

Leningrad's Zhirnov Speaks 29 Nov

PM0112152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by Deputy I.I. Zhirnov of Vasileostrovskiy Electoral Okrug, Leningrad, (lathe operator at the Baltic Plant named for Ordzhonikidze) delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpts] Comrade deputies! The success of restructuring and socialism's viability will depend largely on whether we will be able to form a new political system for our society which is capable of ensuring the efficient management of the transformation processes and including most of the country's population in this activity. Today this work is being implemented under the slogan "All power to the soviets." Power which is not on paper, not illusory, but vital and real. These questions are topical and complex.

And so today, in our discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, we see that the opinions of the public, specialists, and deputies often do not coincide. I want to express my own viewpoint. We in Leningrad have had an extremely lively discussion of the draft laws. About 2 million Leningrad inhabitants attended meetings, and more than 68,000 proposals and amendments to the drafts were put forward. [passage omitted]

Many remarks were made on forming the highest organs of power. Some comrades think that the expediency of the election of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Congress of People's Deputies is not sufficiently well-founded. I believe that the presence of a permanent, renewable deputies' organ such as the Supreme Soviet will be, will make it possible to conduct a deeper and more thorough preliminary study of draft laws, and will really make the deputies independent of the apparatus.

I would like to say a few words about the organizational side of elections. I think that the vote count is of major importance. In most countries it is conducted according to the number of people who participated in the ballot. But in our country is is done according to the total number of voters in the okrug included in the lists. We are right to reject this practice. This will make it possible, when summing up the ballot, to eliminate empty show and formalism, which unfortunately have occurred.

And one more important question—increasing the role of the soviets in developing their territories. As you remember, this was discussed at the 19th all-union party conference. The draft law on local self-management and local economy must undergo nationwide discussion. Taking into account its extreme importance, the extreme interest taken by local organs of power, and also the specifics of individual regions, I propose that a period of no less than 2-3 months should be set to discuss it.

In adopting today the decisions to approve the Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, we must proceed from the premise that it is time to switch from words to deeds, since many questions on which there is still no single opinion can be resolved only in practice. And I support M.S. Gorbachev's proposal, expressed today in his report, for a working group to be created from among the deputies, which would analyze the history of the development of the powers of the USSR and the republics and the processes taking place in this sphere, and would clearly define the demarcation line between the prerogatives of the republics and of the Soviet federation in general.

And lastly, something I cannot avoid saying. I am often asked: What is happening to your neighbors in Estonia? Why does the republic's working class not repulse those who are increasingly aggravating the political situation and who are effectively ignoring the Basic Soviet Law?

We see that a tense situation has also taken shape in some other regions in the country, and we realize that all this is the consequence of omissions by local party and state organs which are often magnified by categorical statements in the press. But the decisions adopted by the local organs of power must not infringe the Basic Soviet Law or the economic system of Soviet socialist society, or ignore the fact that the work and resources of all the union republics and the entire Soviet people have been invested in the creation and development of their economic complex. So I think that our neighbors have enough sense, goodwill, and restraint to resolve constructively the contradictions which have arisen.

I can say only one thing: The Leningrad working class vote in favor of restructuring and democracy—but in favor of democracy in the interests of socialism, working people, and the people. (applause).

Moscow's Yefremov Speaks

PM3011164188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by Deputy V.P. Yefremov of Kuntsevskiy Electoral Okrug, Moscow, (general designer at Moscow Production Association) delivered at 29 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! The discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies has demonstrated the considerably heightened sociopolitical activeness of Moscow's working people.

Muscovites see these laws as the real embodiment of the ideas of the 19th all-union party conference, which mapped out an integral concept for revolutionary transformations of society. In their letters and speeches citizens point out that the draft laws aim to ensure complete people's power and involve the broad people's masses in governing the country. Their adoption and practical implementation will make it possible to ensure that the soviets really become true organs of people's self-management.

The democratic thrust of the draft laws won ardent support and approval among Muscovites. More than 13,000 comments and proposals concerning the draft laws came in from the capital's working people. I want to stress that almost every article aroused animated debate. The results of the discussion were summed up by the session of the Moscow City Soviet held 25 November: It asked the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies representing Moscow's voters to inform the present session of the opinion of Muscovites and Moscow Soviet deputies on complete support and approval for the draft laws under examination today. This is easy for me to do because I am backed up by a large collective of workers and scientists, who have made a large contribution to strengthening an important sector in the country's economy.

I was very interested to read the materials of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech. I think that Mikhail Sergeyevich's call to the entire Soviet people for the highest responsibility will become the theme of today's discussion of the radical reform of our political system.

It is also pertinent here to talk about the following. The Presidium session allowed us all to profoundly realize the lack of correspondence between the Estonian SSR Law "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution" and the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet declaration on Estonian SSR sovereignty that were adopted 16 November 1988 and our country's Constitution and USSR laws respectively.

The formation of a socialist multiethnic state is the supreme gain of all the nations living within the USSR. It is the sacred duty of each one of them to take care of our common home—the Soviet Union.

The draft law articles on nominating candidates from the place of residence, limiting the term in office of all officials elected or appointed by the soviets, and also on the incompatibility of the leadership of a state management organ with the title of deputy won universal support. These are regarded as progressive steps helping to really involve the broad masses in the process of administering state and public affairs.

While supporting on behalf of Muscovites the draft laws submitted for discussion to the present session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I want to draw deputies' attention to questions that aroused the most animated debate and that must be taken into consideration during subsequent stages in the political reform of Soviet society.

In our opinion, the proposal concerning the right of all-union social organizations to directly elect USSR deputies requires serious study. The opinion was voiced that elections of deputies at congresses and plenums are incompatible with the general democratic principles of forming the soviets since they remove a definite number of deputies from the control of the voters and violate equal electoral rights by creating a restricted system of electing deputies.

There were proposals asking that all-union organs of public organizations not elect deputies but only nominate candidate deputies. These proposals and opinions were submitted to a Moscow Soviet session but were not supported.

At meetings with voters doubts were voiced as to the advisability of establishing multicandidate electoral okrugs since agitation work for specific candidates becomes less effective.

Releasing candidates from their production or official obligations in order to participate in pre-election events was deemed an essential step on the path of democratizing elections.

Muscovites had a disparate attitude to the proposed terms for Supreme Soviet deputy replaceability. There were proposals to extend this term for one-fifth of deputies from 1 year to 2.5 years, since the shorter term does not enable many of them to implement the experience they have acquired.

Proposals linked with the Constitutional Oversight Committee for aroused great interest. Welcoming its creation, Muscovites submitted a number of concrete proposals on clearly delimiting the functions and competence of the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, and the Constitutional Oversight Committee, broadening its composition and assigning the committee real powers, including the right to repeal acts if they contravene the USSR Constitution.

Article 152 on the procedure for electing judges brought a broad response. Public thought is geared toward the need to bring the version more fully into line with the decisions of the 19th party conference and with the tasks of building a rule-of-law state. The election of judges by the higher-ranking soviet will in fact ensure their independence and their responsibility solely to the law. This procedure may be regarded as a guarantee protecting the rights of Soviet citizens.

There must be maximum accuracy allowing no arbitrary interpretation or ambiguity in important juridical documents like the draft laws being discussed today. That is why I believe that the final version should redefine more precisely the appropriate wording.

The reference in a number of the draft articles to guarantees of glasnost in the work of the soviets and their organs and to the means of making known and taking into consideration public opinion in their activity is very important from the viewpoint of Muscovites. In this connection there were many proposals on broadening and concretizing the entry on referendums.

At the same time I want to point that it really is difficult to take account of every single observation. Life moves on, and individual articles can be amplified at subsequent stages of our development and in the course of practical implementation at the appropriate congresses of soviets.

In conclusion I would like to stress once again that the main line in this vast mass of proposals and comments is geared toward improving the drafts and completely supporting them.

It is my profound conviction that the adoption of the draft laws under discussion will help involve the broad people's masses in governing the country and will lay the foundation for genuine people's power.

Bashkir's Khabibullin Speaks

PM0112164988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 3-4

[Speech by Deputy R.Kh. Khabibullin of Kalininskiy Electoral Okrug, Bashkir SSR, (first secretary of Bashkir CPSU Obkom) delivered at 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! The working people of Bashkiria have shown exceptionally great interest in the draft laws that are under discussion. They see the reform of our society's political system now under way as a reliable guarantee of the further improvement of restructuring.

Party and soviet organs and the mass media received around 18,000 proposals and additions. These were collated and forwarded to the preparatory commissions. Most of the proposals were taken into account in the draft laws presented at the session. People are turning to the very essence of these highly important state documents, realizing that we will have to live and operate according to these laws. Expressing the will of their voters, deputies from the Bashkir ASSR have instructed me on the whole to support the submitted drafts and to put forward certain proposals.

Under the conditions of the further democratization of society's life the party decisions on giving autonomous republics, krays, oblasts, and individual regions greater autonomy [samostoyatelnost] in their socioeconomic development are being implemented more and more tangibly.

It should be noted that at a certain stage many important questions in our republic's economy were resolved one-sidedly as a result of excessive centralization, shortcomings in planning, and the suppression of local initiative. This led to a serious exacerbation of the demographic situation in the countryside, in housing construction, and in other social issues. At the same time there was an excessive concentration on petrochemical enterprises, which seriously complicated the ecological situation in a number of Bashkiria's cities and rayons.

It should be stated bluntly that the actions of certain union ministries with regard to the regions have been and continue to be of the command-coercion and narrowly departmental variety. The main thing for them has often been to obtain output at all costs. In this respect we consider it expedient to amend Article 114 of the draft law by enshrining in it autonomous republic supreme soviets' right of legislative initiative at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This will make it possible, in our view, to resolve questions of economic and social development in a timely and correct manner and to take fuller account of the interests of all our country's nations and ethnic groups.

We think that Article 117 of the USSR Constitution should reflect the idea that when the conciliation commission examines issues directly linked with autonomous republics' lives or submitted at their initiative, not less than half of the representatives from the Soviet of Nationalities on the commission at the time when the issue is examined should be deputies from autonomous republics.

Certain steps to further expand the rights of union and autonomous republics and oblasts could be taken without waiting for the next stage of the political reform by allowing all above-plan output to be used in the interests of the region producing it.

It could be said that this principle has already been proclaimed and is coming into force following the 19th all-union party conference. But it should be said that, although proclaimed in theory, in practice it does not always operate as yet. For instance, central organs distribute the very last tonne of oil extracted in the republic over and above the plan. The organization of oil extraction involves the removal of hundreds of hectares of agricultural land every year. It would be correct to use even part of the above-plan oil to compensate for the agroindustrial complex' losses, which would allow regions to take a greater interest in developing the oil extracting sector, which is so important for the country. It is necessary to sensibly combine the interests of sectors and regions, then there will be harmony in work.

Comrade Deputies! The working people of the Bashkir ASSR are profoundly concerned about the decisions of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet of 16 November this year. Fundamental articles of the USSR Constitution, which is the bedrock of the Soviet state and binds together the interests of all union republics, have been revised. I think that none of us representatives of multiethnic republics would agree with the idea of turning our mighty federation into a ramshackle confederation. Now that we are creating a socialist rule-of-law state nobody is allowed to take steps that diverge from the provisions of the USSR Basic Law or undermine the basic principles of the building and unity of the USSR.

In order to implement the tasks outlined by the party at this historic time we need to completely consolidate political and social forces in the country. And the tasks of restructuring can only be resolved on the basis of closely rallying and pooling the efforts of representatives of all nationalities and by relying on their friendship and mutual respect. This was stated meaningfully and with profound cogency by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speech at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session and in his report at this session.

And, as a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, I unhesitatingly voted for the decree annulling the Estonian SSR laws adopted at the extraordinary session on the basis that they contravened the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. They were adopted to the detriment of the interests of the Estonian people themselves and all our country's peoples. I am sure that a clear majority of deputies in this auditorium welcome and support this decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. (Applause).

I would like to believe that Estonian deputies and the Estonian people will display sufficient political maturity, civic wisdom, and historic farsightedness. We must all cherish our unique and harmonious family of peoples. That was the great Lenin's bequest.

Comrade Deputies! I think that the proposal on the need to swear in soviet chairmen at all levels merits attention. This procedure—detailed in its form and content—should be not merely a ritual but an act with major legal and political consequences.

From Article 96 of the draft law on the Constitution and Article 11 of the draft law on elections we can see that a considerable number of citizens making up government organs or local ispolkoms and leaders of departments and people's control committees cannot be elected soviet deputies on the territories in which they perform their duties. In our republic this will mean that more than 8,000 officials appointed or elected by the soviets will be deprived of their right to be elected to the soviets. On a nationwide scale the number will clearly be around 1 million people.

Yet Article 2 of the draft law on elections proclaims that any restrictions on citizens' electoral rights based on their social status, origins, or the nature of their work are prohibited. A serious contradiction arises when, on the one hand, it is prohibited to restrict citizens' electoral rights for these reasons, while, on the other hand, they cannot be deputies by reason of their work. These people should not be deprived of one of the supreme civic rights—that of being elected to a soviet at any level.

In the relevant articles this question could be set out as follows: "Persons elected as people's deputies cannot, during the period in which they are fulfilling their duties as deputies, sit on the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics, or local soviet ispolkoms, with the exception of the chairmen of those organs, and cannot occupy the positions of leaders of local soviet ispolkom departments, sections, and administrations if they perform their professional duties on the territory of the soviet in question." In this situation citizens themselves would have the right to choose whether to be deputies or to keep a certain job.

Many remarks during the discussion of the draft laws in the republic were generated by the election of deputies from social organizations. On the whole there are no doubts about this. The only disagreement is that some voters will have not one but several votes. For instance—one vote in the electoral okrug election in the area where they live, a second vote in an election at a plenum, a third at an election at a congress of some social organization, and so forth. There can be no question of voters having equal votes under these circumstances. That is why I propose amending the relevant article to limit each voter to a single vote.

And one other thing. The question arises as to which organ will be responsible for the courts. For instance, RSFSR court signs and seals indicate that they are subordinate to the justice ministries. One wonders why the courts are subordinate to the government through its Ministry of Justice? Why are the courts headed by an executive organ? What law lays down the USSR Ministry of Justice's right to issue mandatory guidelines for the courts, to publish orders, or to adopt collegium resolutions on questions of the administration of justice? Such a sharp weapon of the state as the courts should have a single leadership body. And that should be a superior judicial organ.

Comrade Deputies! There is a firm conviction that the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the laws under discussion will promote the further development of socialist democracy and the formation of a rule-of-law state, and will help our country to make considerable progress. (Applause).

Kazakhstan's Kolbin Speaks

PM0112145788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Speech by Deputy G.V. Kolbin of Zheleznodorozhnyy Electoral Okrug, Kazakh SSR, (first secretary of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee) delivered at the joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers on the afternoon of 29 November]

[Text] Comrade Deputies,

The report delivered to this session by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and its conclusions are a source of deep satisfaction for all the deputies from Kazakhstan present here today.

Five months have elapsed since the 19th all-union party conference completed its work. Many of us took part in it. And it is to be supposed that the democratic spirit of that forum and the keenness of discussion there, particularly on the day the resolutions were adopted, will always be remembered by us.

The high level of political activeness demonstrated at the party conference did not come about of its own accord. It was the result of the rapid development of our society, the origins of which lie in April 1985. The powerful ideological and political charge provided by that truly crucial CPSU Central Committee plenum has merely intensified with the passage of time. And now, when Soviet people have begun to put the adopted resolutions into practice we are witnessing a general, nationwide desire to participate in restructuring in both the political and economic spheres of public life.

The progress of discussion in the republic of the draft laws submitted to today's session is a graphic example of that positive trend. Putting it bluntly, it lacked the usual, ostentatious unanimity which, as a rule, used to mask the broad masses' indifference to the leading organs' activity. People perused every sentence and carefully considered every provision of the documents and checked them out against the existing constitutions of the country and union republics.

Labor collectives witnessed quite a few disputes in which the truth and unanimity emerged. Many sensible, constructive suggestions appeared as a result. At a recent session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in which representatives of the broad public took part we once again pondered the numerous proposals and comments and summed up the discussion of these documents. The conclusion drawn was unequivocal: Restructuring the economy and the social sphere and increasing people's civic activeness are impossible unless political reform is implemented and the proposed draft laws are adopted. They must be adopted.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has instructed me to express its opinion to the USSR Supreme Soviet session and convey the firm confidence of the inhabitants of Kazakhstan that the new laws will be adopted.

I am certain that we must right now carefully think about their practical implementation. The whole point is that time does not stand still and that restructuring entails both acceleration and the exclusion of every kind of distortion and ill-considered action from our practice. The documents of the 19th party conference particularly stress that "Soviet people's rights and freedoms are inextricably bound up with civic obligations and strict observance of the law for all. Socialist democracy is incompatible with highhandedness and irresponsibility."

However, we have since the conference allowed a fair few exaggerations to occur. Take, for example, the development of glasnost and democratic principles. The mass media while in general pursuing the noble goal of increasing people's civic and political activeness have clearly spent too much time publicizing rally-type democracy. Many articles have smacked more of instructions regarding the location of and procedure for organizing rallies than businesslike discussion of how to specifically apply democratic principles in useful work for society. In short, quite a few articles have appeared the whole point of which can be summed up in the well-known phrase: "Let's stir it, lads!"

The fact that most articles by central newspapers and magazines on restsructuring processes have focussed on events in the Baltic is pretty difficult to understand too. Initial delight that the "restructuring front" was located there then gave way to disappointment when party and soviet organs let the situation slip out of their control and apolitical forces, under pressure from whom decisions incompatible with Soviet laws were made, gained the upper hand.

It seems that we were mistaken in our restructuring mentors, and the mistakes must be acknowledged, not so much in order to remove those who are in error as to ensure that we all draw the correct lessons for future practical actions from this. After all, in carrying out the decisions designed to develop democracy we should stress not so much rally-type democracy as set about teaching people democracy and the art of discussion. That is the end to which we have attempted to gear our political work in Kazakhstan, since, given pluralism of opinions, we must allow that these opinions may be right or wrong. Our task is to teach the masses to correctly distinguish right from wrong; everyone must define their own place; some must be afforded all-around support, others resolutely and thoroughly rebuffed. We publish these and other initiatives under the "Learning Democracy" rubric but provide them with appropriate commentaries. Logic is winning through. And yielding results. Political and other forms of extremism are losing ground and giving way to constructuive proposals.

But it is now very important to prevent former mistakes when we are beginning to actually implement political reforms in the sphere of state building and the Law on the Elections of USSR People's Deputies.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report contains a very marked and correct emphasis. It gives serious food for thought, in my view. It concerns the professional and political qualities of nominated deputies. Preparation for elections to the USSR and union republic supreme soviets and related published materials have hitherto been one-dimensional, concerned, that is, with ensuring observance of the norms of democracy. This, however, is just one of a whole heap of pressing problems! Questions concerning prospective deputies' professional and political qualities have been left in the shade.

It has to be acknowledged that even today far from all deputies are well informed about their electoral okrug's problems and concerns. Their work mostly boils down to their accepting instructions from their electors which they then transmit to superior organs for decision. They do not even try to find out whether these requests have been met or whether there is any real basis for doing so at the moment. Not to mention the fact that the deputies themselves do not, as a rule, make any effort of their own to eliminate a particular problem. And there can be no question at all of their visiting their electoral okrug on their own initiative and looking for work!

Some people even today see the role of a deputy of the future convocation in an oversimplified away, supposing that the ability to criticize all and sundry and "extort" benefits for their voters are the main thing. And yet that is nothing but pure populism and the establishment of the same old worthless, parasitic approaches.

No, we don't need such deputies today. We need people with their feet firmly planted in the real world who know how to find constructive solutions and bring those who are lazy and unfair in tackling social problems to due account.

Unfortunately, we do also have bad experience whereby two or three candidates are put forward in multimandate [alternativnyy] elections, and then, under pressure from apolitical forces, decent people immediately withdraw from the elction contest. The upshot is that a single candidate, the one campaigned for by dubious forces, remains and the electorate simply has no option but to cast their vote for him.

Bad experience is experience nevertheless, and we must draw correct conclusions from it. The people do not expect showy sessions or long-winded discussion of vital issues but their actual solution. We have sought in the republic in the last 2-3 years to achieve systematic, integrated work in all areas, in which deputies and workers at all levels of soviet organs have played the most active part. This has helped us enthuse people to solve chronic painful problems like housing construction, food supply, and others. Everyone who has recently visited Kazakhstan's Kokchetav, Kustanay, Tselinograd, and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts will have been undoubtedly convinced that restructuring is progressing there. It is enough to study the progress of housing construction in those regions or see the richly laden counters of the food stores there. And, of course, one can be absolutely certain that voters have no qualms at all about casting their vote for the organisers of all these good works.

In any multimandate election it is the work organizers who win and those renowned only for their speeches who lose.

Putting political reform into practice requires that we thoroughly understand the prevailing political situation and make unusual efforts to enhance the role of soviets and their authority as the sovereign masters of the territory under their jurisdiction. It is no secret that the success of this work will depend in many respects on the party leader, who must enjoy respect and influence among not only Communists but the broad aktiv, non-party comrades, and deputies of the relevant soviets.

I would like to conclude by stressing that we will be voting on behalf of all inhabitants of Kazakhstan in favor of the draft laws submitted to today's session. We will be voting for them because they make it possible to dramatically increase soviets' power and potential and ensure the representation of broader strata of the population in the country's supreme organs of power. For that reason they are a real embodiment of the ideas of our party's 19th all-union conference.

Thank you for your attention (Applause).

Leningrad's Lavrov Speaks

PM0112181988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 4-5

[Speech by Deputy K.Yu. Lavrov of Leningradskiy Electoral Okrug, Leningrad, (chairman of Theater Workers Union Board) at 29 November afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! We are living at a very crucial time. We are faced with most complex problems in all their acuteness left us by the past—problems that were previously hushed up.

The restructuring headed by the party has for the first time in many years aroused society from social apathy to actively seek the resolution of political and economic problems. This is a difficult process and is not without danger, but it is the only correct one if we want to see our motherland a flourishing, civilized power rather than a second-rate state. Now as never before it is important to join together to support restructuring. The tragic situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the events in

Estonia that have been in many respects the result of old mistakes in nationalities policy are particularly intensifying the complexities and undermining our unity. In this respect I was distressed by the speech given by the Azerbaijani spokesman: More mutual recriminations and demands instead of seeking peaceful ways of escaping together from this very complex situation is undermining the noble process of the country's democratic reconstruction. The main task now is not to waste time, not to allow restructuring to misfire, and not to deal its opponents any trump cards.

We are now taking the first steps in improving the state and political system and in creating a real rule-of-law state. These steps will be followed by others. The path is complex and mistakes are possible, it is important to rectify them in time, and the main thing is not to stop.

I suggest adopting the proposed draft laws that have been presented to us with amendments and addenda on the basis of broad popular discussion and discussion within the Legislative Proposals Commissions. The proposed structures are maybe still not totally perfect, but laws have to be tested by life. By adopting these draft laws, we are taking a major step in the direction of creating most rapidly the foundations for a rule-of-law state and the reform of the political system. We are in urgent need of this. There are no alternatives to it! That is, of course: There is an alternative, but it is a dreadful alternative: It is stagnation, backward movement, a return to administrative-edict methods of management, and the alienation of people from the results of their labor, it is a return to the so-called inner-circle morality and so on and so forth.... Our people will not agree to this sort of alternative!

I saw the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the television 27 November. The entire country saw it. One can hardly imagine this never happening again and everything returning to the hush-hush elaboration of decisions on which the life of our people depends and returning to dry official reports....

To be honest, I was surprised at things said by some people who had been invested with the people's trust. Stock phrases were uttered and cliched thought came to light. Some comrades began right away to construct criminal information using the habitual tones of the past era rather than to clarify the crux of the matter.

Yes, our Estonian comrades have made serious mistakes by adopting legislative acts in contravention of the USSR Constitution. It was felt that they had failed to resist emotions and passions, but the prime causes of their dissatisfaction were just in many respects. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision, and Mikhail Sergeyevich condemned the method of their actions but acknowledged that attention must be paid to them on a whole series of problems. Above all, departmental diktat on the territories of the union republics without consideration for the opinion of the soviets and the population. I want to ask the chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium the following question: Has his republic never encountered such diktat? Maybe instead of reporting on how much cotton the republic has harvested—although that is very important—it also would be worth talking about this problem?

The Lithuanian chairman at the Presidium session said that it is useful when elaborating legislative acts to involve the republics' representatives in the early stages. Isn't that logical? But the Ukrainian spokeswoman said: The commission received hundreds of thousands of letters from working people, including letters from the republics, and that's enough! But these are different matters.

I want to dwell on certain clauses in the draft laws and above all on the question of social organizations' representation in the Congress of People's Deputies. I ardently support this clause although I know that this item does have many opponents, including among my voters. M.S. Gorbachev devoted a great deal of attention to this problem in his report. I would like to stress yet another aspect of this question. Let's be frank. In the last 3 years the people have learned the names of the vigorous, skilled, and gifted people involved in restructuring, production, and the creative sphere. Many of them work actively in social organizations, they are real patriots and possess the foremost minds in the country. So how can we fail to give them an opportunity to take a most energetic part in the work of the country's supreme legislative organ? I hope that the voters will give them their vote. Especially since we want to create a highly-skilled and thoughtful Supreme Soviet! This is simply essential in the current political situation.

Misgivings are being voiced that social organizations will nominate as deputies only leaders and functionaries via their leading organs without the participation of the mass of ordinary members. I don't think that this is so easy in the current situation. Political activeness among the masses is high and voters will hardly tolerate the pressure, stage-managing, and advance decisions that happened previously. As sometimes happened even during elections of delegates to the 19th party conference....

Yes, we are learning democracy, but we must also learn from our mistakes so as not to repeat them. In the USSR Union of Theater Workers, for instance, we are thinking of acting in the following way (of course, we will discuss this first in all the republics). Conferences will be held throughout the country in creative collectives, at which our comrades will name the people they deem worthy of being elected. Irrespective of where these people live—in their republic or in another. The main thing is for a man to be renowned for his active public and creative activity. Not on an ethnic basis, or on his residence permit, but on the standard of the individual, his integrity and devotion to our cause, and, last, on his prestige in the theater world. This will be a school of internationalism at the same time! Thus our representatives will be nominated from below, from labor collectives. I am sure that this will result in the most prestigious and worthy representatives of the multiethnic USSR Union of Theater Workers being elected by secret ballot from this roll at the conference or the congress. That is how we are thinking of acting, even though the draft law does not elaborate the procedural side of this question clearly enough. It seems to me that many items in our constitution suffer from this shortcoming. Yet lawyers say that the law is a clearly fixed procedure.

I want to talk about another element. The state budget. I think that the future Supreme Soviet, which will be working in quite different conditions, should examine sectoral appropriations in a skilled and more detail manner, discussing each figure for expenditure and the reasons for it in an attentive and businesslike fashion. Of course, this must be preceded by preparatory work on the part of the appropriate commissions. Then it will be possible, for instance, not to consent to appropriations for culture or to the inadmissible "residue" principle for financing it, which, unfortunately, is still holding firm. Some ministries will have to defend before the Supreme Soviet their right to the millions spent on projects that are ecological catastrophes. Of course, statesmanlike breadth of outlook rather than parochial sectoral interests will be required from deputies. But these are the kind of people that we hope to see in the new USSR Supreme Soviet.

Now a word about another clause that is arousing doubts. It is proposed to replace one-fifth of the Supreme Soviet deputies every year. This point seems extremely democratic, but.... If that were the case, in 5 years all the deputies of the Congress would have passed through the Supreme Soviet.... But that is impossible—arithmetic does not allow it! Who will determine the people making up this one-fifth? On what principle? Won't it be the case that the most active deputies and the most "refractory" will also be included in this one-fifth in 1 year? Here are my thoughts: They are elected for 5 years—let them work for 5 years! For only then will it be possible to cultivate an erudite, skilled, and professional—with regard to the work of deputies—Supreme Soviet.

Comrades, the entire campaign to discuss the draft laws illustrates new party policy and the real atmosphere of restructuring. Its dynamism and, to a certain extent, its drama have emerged during this campaign. In my opinion, it would have been more successful and the population would have had fewer questions if we had all, from top to bottom, starting with the Politburo, carried the campaign out more intensively, showing daily concern for feedback and for enlightening and convincing the masses.

For instance, how could it be that, despite the 19th party conference resolution, the text of the clause on electing people's judges was replaced in the text of the draft by a different text? How could this have happened? Why leave a loophole for administrative pressure on the court? As Mikhail Sergeyevich said, this was corrected in the final draft, but facts are facts.... We should be very attentive and protect the policy of restructuring will all our might!

Comrade Deputies, our terms of office are coming to an end. Most of us have honestly tried to fulfill our duty to the voters and to our people. It was often difficult for us. Difficult by virtue of the objective situation that has taken shape, whereby a deputy most often acts as a petitioner and a kind of buffer between the voters and the inaccessible bodies on which depends the practical solution of the concrete, everyday questions that people bring to us at the deputy reception. But have we been able to restructure our own thinking and bring it in to line with the demands of the time? I think not. If we are being frank, this has not proved properly possible. Even the Supreme Soviet model itself has had its day. I look round this hall and I think that it has been left us from the old times; each of our seats is equipped with earphones for us to listen but not with microphones enabling us to speak. This hall is only suited to unanimity! I believe that the new Supreme Soviet will be equal to the tasks facing it and this hall will be restructured and will become more suited for heated working debate and for socialist pluralism of opinion and will fully reflect the idea of people's power and glasnost! (Applause).

Komsomol Leader Speaks

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30 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Speech by Deputy V.I. Mironenko of Lozovskiy Electoral Okrug, Kharkov Oblast, (first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee) delivered at 29 November afternoon joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! I am going to vote in support of the draft laws that have been proposed and I want to tell you why.

As first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee I took part in preparing the draft laws and I know that they have been well thought out. M.S. Gorbachev's report today showed that convincingly. The Komsomol Central Committee plenum held recently noted that the draft laws meet the political guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference.

The demands to implement all the conference's ideas speedily, often expressed in various forms by young people, please us. It means that the conference decisions are in tune with young people's feelings. But it is hard to agree with those demands. The step that we are taking in political reform is an extraordinarily responsible one, but it is only the first. We have begun by changing the procedure for forming the supreme organs of power. That is right! Formed in the new way, these organs will continue the work begun by us. Not a single constructive proposal voiced during the discussion on other sections and articles of our Constitution must be lost for future work.

Having closely studied the changes and suggestions submitted as a result of the discussion, I believe that they should be adopted. They improve the draft law and take account of much that was contributed by Komsomol members, young people, Komsomol organizations, and the Komsomol Central Committee. But the discussion of the draft laws was useful from the viewpoint not only of improving them but also of ensuring the real involvement of millions of people, including young people, in big politics. In my view this was a good schooling in socialist democracy for very many young men and women, those who belong to the Komsomol and those who do not. Although, to be honest, this school, like any other, has not been without noise or free of mistakes. There is no reason to be surprised at or afraid of that, I think. The maximalist, uncompromising, and categorical approach of young people in this debate is a healthy sign, it seems to me.

During the discussion, public attention has again focused on our most sensitive problems. Yes, for a long time many of our ministries and departments pursued an ill-considered and short-sighted economic policy, to put mildly. In view of the soviets' passiveness they were often able to ignore the specific features and interests of republics, krays, and oblasts and the state of the environment. And, I would add, the interests of the younger generation, in other words the country's future, are often ignored, too.

The party has revealed and condemned all of this. It has formulated the only real program for resolving these problems. The Komsomol Central Committee is convinced that it is necessary to proceed along this path step by step. The majority of young people understand this. The majority, but not all. Some young people have "fallen" for the numerous "political myths" that have developed in our country. The attempts, much publicized in some places, to resolve the accumulated problems for oneself alone, disregarding the interests of others and the whole union, and to resolve them at a stroke, in one fell swoop, are in my view ludicrous. And, I believe, to make deliberately unrealizable demands which are strongly redolent of ultimatums and are unconstitutional in essence and form takes us not closer to but further from solving our urgent problems. And even if it does not do that, it certainly diverts us.

Is this beneficial to people? No, it is not! But whom does this benefit? It seems to me beneficial only to those who use revolutionary phrases to hide the fact that they would like to halt the reform and keep us for decades more in a state of stagnation, which clearly suits some people. Sooner or later young people will understand this, I think.

Comrade Deputies!

I am going to vote for the draft laws despite the fact that several Komsomol organizations, including one union republic Central Committee, have rejected them wholly or in part.

What do I want to say at this point? I deeply dislike the idea of immediately switching from the unanimous "approval of everything" to the equally unanimous and rapid "rejection of everything." The same feature lies behind them both—it is often simply mental sloth, an unwillingness to investigate, to think, and to compare viewpoints not only in terms of form but also of essence. What is this: The maximalism of youth, or advisers who are not very conscientious or competent? Most likely a bit of both.

"Once bitten, twice shy." You can understand what people mean by that. But how can you understand it when some people see the right of social organizations to elect a proportion of deputies as a Trojan horse packed solid with malevolent bureaucrats. When they see the Congress of People's Deputies almost as a mechanism for "weeding out" the supporters of restructuring and infringing the sovereignty of union republics. To accept that, you have to begin by believing implicitly that no good ever comes from the center. All they think about there is ways to infringe local rights. While at the same time, come what may, the voters and their elected representatives—the people's deputies—will simply be obedient sheep who can be made to accept any decision. It is impossible to agree with either the first notion or the second. The first is well known to us—it is the "Red Guard" principle of attacking authority. And the second is simply a lack of belief in one's own people.

So we could very easily reject the law as a whole. And you know that this has in fact happened during the discussion. Even a less than complete law is better than the most complete and utter lawlessness.

There is not and cannot be any democracy without respect for the law and for legislators, who on a number of occasions have been subjected to crude pressure.

I need to speak about this, too, because young people are the first victims of any lawlessness. Unfortunately this has already happened, as you know well. Let us remember that and firmly support the law in this and in all other instances.

I shall also vote for the proposed draft laws because they, and in particular Article 121 of the new edition of the USSR Constitution, offer a real opportunity for involvement in shaping the mechanisms capable of helping to elaborate and implement a strong policy for young people, which was discussed at the 19th all-union party conference. The Komsomol Central Committee proposes the creation of a USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs formed from USSR people's deputies, the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities, and first and foremost young people, including those elected from the Komsomol. Thus a real structure would be created for the representation of young people in the standing legislative, administrative, and control organ of the USSR state power, and the conditions would take shape for resolving all-union, regional, and national problems affecting young people's interests.

To ensure that the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs is an effective organ it is necessary to determine its rank (in the composition and examination of draft state plans for the country's social and economic development and the USSR State Budget in that section which affects young people's interests; and draft laws and other legislative acts relating to the basic rights, freedoms, and obligations of young citizens of the USSR). The committee could implement special monitoring of questions of young people's general social welfare. I believe that a real way in which the Supreme Soviet could influence the activity of the central organs of state management, particularly regarding the implementation of youth policy, could be for sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs to hear reports from ministry and department leaders. To ensure the effective coordination of the implementation of youth policy the Committee for Youth Affairs must have sufficiently full and objective information on young people's problems.

At a recent Komsomol Central Committee plenum, the speeches by the first secretaries of the Latvian and Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committees quite rightly spoke about the need for us to give unconditional priority among other things to the molding of the new generation. In a number of republics there are investigations in progress to determine how to represent young people's interests most effectively. We believe it is time for the center to make a significant contribution and to set a good example. We believe that the proposed form of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs may be the most democratic and effective. By its nature it will ensure the real participation of young people in resolving the most important state problems.

The completion of the discussion and the adoption of the Laws are essentially just the beginning of the actual implementation of the political reform. This will require concrete practical actions and the precise setting of priorities. The Komsomol Central Committee has set such priorities. First, in the next month we will complete the elaboration of the legal bases of youth policy reflected in the draft of the relevant Law. And we shall be ready to submit the results of several years' work to the scrutiny of society as a whole. In the "Komsomol Central Committee Appeal to Komsomol Members and Young People" we shall set out the main tasks involved in preparing for and holding elections of people's deputies and participation in formulating election platforms and instructions to candidate deputies. The Komsomol's political platform is the policy of the CPSU—restructuring. At the same time it is planned to formulate election platforms based on theses for discussion by the whole Komsomol and the most important provisions of the draft Law on Youth Policy. The results of this discussion will essentially form the basis of the political mandate from young people which will be supported at the Congress of People's Deputies by the 75 Komsomol deputies and the young deputies elected at local level.

All this is possible only if the proposed drafts become law. I intend to vote for that and urge you, Esteemed Comrades, to do likewise. I thank you for your attention. (Applause)

Justice Minister Speaks

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[Speech by Deputy B.V. Kravtsov of the Shyaulyayskiy Rural Electoral Okrug, Lithuanian SSR, and USSR minister of justice, delivered at the 29 November afternoon joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! Questions which are of major significance for overcoming the negative phenomena of past years and for the country's dynamic progress for a protracted period were put forward for examination at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. We are talking about amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution, and moreover amendments and additions which concern fundamental provisions relating to the formation and powers of the organs of state power.

An analysis of restructuring's progress and in essence life's very logic demonstrated that further implementation of the planned socioeconomic transformations require the political system to be reformed. Providing a legal foundation for the new state structures will be another legal guarantee of restructuring's irreversibility. Precisely for this reason it is correct and opportune to pose at this session the question of the introduction of essential amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution.

I cannot fail to note that in the process of discussing the draft law, as has already been mentioned here, fears were expressed that the rights of the union republics would be infringed upon and curtailed. But now it has become clear to virtually everyone that these fears were in vain. These fears have no serious foundation. You only have to look carefully at Articles 108 and 113 of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. As is known, they mention the powers of the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moreover, these powers are defined in precise conformity with the provisions of Article 73 of the current USSR Constitution, which lays down what comes under the jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. So, references to infringements of union republics' rights and restrictions on their powers are quite unconvincing. Moreover, after an examination of all the amendments and additions, the aforementioned articles of the draft laws in their final form testify, I would say, to an attentive and solicitous attitude toward the union republics. And it can confidently be stated that in the future, at the subsequent stages of implementing the reform of the political system, this will be specifically expressed in the appropriate articles of the Constitution relating to the powers of the union republics.

Comrade deputies! The thought may not be new, but all the same I would like to say: We are all concerned that every union republic, which is part of the USSR as a sovereign state, possesses the maximum rights and powers in federal conditions. To support this, I would like to cite the words of our contemporary, the Estonian writer Teet Kallas. Pay attention to what he writes: The stronger each people in our unique state and the higher its national self-awareness, the stronger is the union of the peoples in our state,. and the more weighty their contribution to the state as a united whole. These are correct words, and one cannot fail to agree with them!

The thought was also heard during the discussion of the drafts that central union organs are being given too much power. But I cannot agree with this interpretation of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. Essentially it is just a question of the redistribution of functions between the central organs of state power and administration. Some powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers are being transferred to the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. For example, it is proposed to transfer to the USSR Supreme Soviet questions of interpreting USSR laws, ratifying and denouncing international treaties, and repealing resolutions and instructions from the USSR Council of Ministers and the union republics. According to the 1977 Constitution, this was the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's domain. I think that this approach testifies to the development of democracy in the central organs of state power, but not to centralization. One cannot fail to note also that all the legislative functions will now be concentrated in the hands of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, whereas according to the 1977 Constitution the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dealt with these functions.

As can be seen from items in the press, during the nationwide discussion of the draft laws, in certain places depuies were asked, and moreover sometimes quite persistently, to defer the adoption of these draft laws at this session. As the deputy for the Shyaulyayskiy Rural District in the Lithuanian SSR, I received a telegram from one voter a few days ago which contained the following: The draft amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution published in the press violate the principles of the rule-of-law state and do not accord with the spirit of the 19th all-union party conference, for they limit the rights of the union republics and reinforce the centralized bureaucratic system of management. We, your voters, at a general meeting in the city of Zagare in Lithuania's Ionishkskiy Rayon, have adopted and are sending you this mandate: Do everything in your power to prevent this draft from being discussed at the upcoming USSR Supreme Soviet session.

What can I say about this? Of course, our citizens are now freely and fearlessly expressing this opinion. This is a result of the changes taking place in the country. As for the essence of this request, I think that the democratic essence of the drafts was not fully explained by certain comrades. To a certain degree, this was probably also the result of insufficient propagandist explanatory work. It is clear that lawyers—both those practicing the law and academics—did not do enough work to this end.

Of course, there were certain omissions in the original texts of the draft. The purpose of the nationwide discussion is to add to and improve particular provisions in the drafts. And I think that the content of the most controversial articles is now noticeably better. Unclear points concerning fundamental provisions about the essence of the USSR as a Soviet socialist federal state were removed in M.S. Gorbachev's report. I am in full agreement with the report's arguments and conclusions.

Comrade deputies! Life has convincingly confirmed that the proclamation of particular constitutional principles not backed up by essential guarantees has had a negative impact on their implementation. This fully applies to the activity of the courts and other law enforcement organs. For many years the words in the USSR Constitution that judges are independent and answerable only to the law have remained a watchword. Meanwhile, there have often been factors at work which have largely nullified this most important provision. It is hardly necessary to talk about the great political and moral harm which has been caused by violations of this principle. This is why it is quite right that Article 155 of the draft under discussion has been supplemented by provisions that the observance of judges' independence be properly ensured. It is a question of responsibility for interference in judges' efforts to implement justice. The principle of judges' inviolability and other guarantees of their independence, which will be set out in the special Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR, is new. The practical implementation of these acts will be one of the most important duties of the USSR Ministry of Justice and organs within their jurisdiction.

Indeed, there was a major discussion on the question of the procedure for electing judges, primarily people's judges—there are more than 12,000 of them in the country. The election of people's judges of rayon and city courts, as well of kray and oblast courts, by higher soviets will undoubtedly assist in boosting their prestige and will be an important guarantee of their independence.

Resolving a whole package of questions of courts' material and technical provision will undoubtedly have a positive influence on further improving the qualitative composition of legal workers, and generally on raising the standard of justice. It can scarcely be regarded as normal when half the people's judges are replaced during their term of office—that is, 5 years.

I would like to draw your attention to the following provision of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. In Article 96 the principle is set out that persons who are accountable to the soviet cannot be soviet deputies. And precisely on this basis the chairman and members of the USSR Supreme Court, the Chief State Arbitrator and the USSR state arbitrators, and members of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee cannot be deputies, as indicated in Article 11 of the draft Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies. It was decided to make an exception for the USSR General Prosecutor and members of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium. It seems that it would be legally correct to specify this in the law in order to avoid violating the principle. Otherwise this case will appear inconsistent.

In conclusion, I think it is essential to stress that the amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution that are being examined will be one more important step in the work to legally support restructuring and strengthen legality and law and order in the country.

Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

Bashkir's Kazakov Speaks 30 Nov

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1 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 5-6

[Speech by Deputy V.I. Kazakov of Promyshlennyy Electoral Okrug, Bashkir ASSR, (deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers) delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] On the whole the republic's working people assess the draft laws as an important and timely step toward the further democratization of society's political life. The need to adopt the draft laws without delay is being stressed.

At the same time I must be frank and say that citizens living in the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts of the RSFSR are expressing justified concern in letters and statements in respect of the fact that the discussion around the draft laws has been misused in a number of cases for the propaganda of unconstitutional and nationalist concepts which are at variance with the basic principles of the structure and unity of the Soviet federation and are not conducive to the strengthening of the multinational Soviet state. Naturally, certain problems have built up in the relations between central and local organs of power over the past years. They concern the need to enhance the role of local self-management, expand republics' rights, and ensure a more flexible coordination of these rights with the overall interests of the state. The USSR Constitution has proclaimed the sovereignty of the union republics. However the mechanism for its practical embodiment has not yet been elaborated. Questions pertaining to interethnic relations are being raised. These are also in evidence in our republic, the RSFSR, where there are 16 autonomous republics alone. Some of them are economically large units with a population of up to 4 million, and there are autonomous republics made up of two or more nationalities. Deputy Prokopev dwelt on the questions which are arising in the autonomous republics. As has already been stated, these and other questions are to be discussed, examined, and resolved at subsequent stages of the restructuring of our political system. [passage omitted]

In our opinion the draft laws skillfully ensure the organizational and legal consolidation of the political decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. On behalf of RSFSR deputies I back the submitted proposals to adopt the draft laws. [passage omitted]

During the debate in the deputies' commission many proposals were discussed. Apart from isolated individual, editorial, and other nonfundamental questions, certain comrades have perceived a departure from the decisions adopted by the 19th conference with regard to two problems—direct representation from social organizations and an alleged encorachment on the independence of union republics. It is well known that direct representation from social organizations is being introduced in accordance with the decisions of the party conference. There is no reason to view this as an attempt to detract from the rights of territories. [passage omitted]

The second question which has evoked heated discussions is the question of the sovereignty of union republics. Some people have perceived an attempt to curb republics' rights in the amendments to the Constitution and have insisted that the whole Constitution be reviewed without delay. Lithuanian deputies submitted a proposal demanding that deputy groups from union republics be invested with the right of veto during voting on union laws, which was rejected. Leaders of the Estonian People's Front addressed the commission. The Estonian comrades put forward totally unacceptable proposals at variance with the principles of democratic centralism, in accordance with which an all-union law would only come into force after it had been ratified in union republics. Despite the existence of reasons for enhancing the republics' role, as dwelt on by Deputy Lavrov, the content, form, and haste with which the Estonian documents were adopted cannot be justified. It is impermissible to cut corners and oversimplify this fundamental question. A lengthy discussion with representatives of the Estonian People's Front took place at the preparatory deputies' commission in the presence of Comrades Ryuytel and Toome 9 November. They arrogantly declared that the events in Estonia are of international significance. It is true that, in international terms, political damage to the whole of our society has been inflicted. And it is not a question of condemnation or of affixing lables but of making an objective assessment of what has taken place. Such an assessment was lacking also in the speech of Comrade Ryuytel. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was absolutely right to declare their proposals null and void. The whole country intently followed on television the work of the Presidium and the calm but incontrovertible arguments of the principled speech delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The stand of the Estonian Supreme Soviet received no backing at the session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium either. The representatives of all 16 autonomous republics and major regions of the RSFSR declared unanimously that this step essentially means replacing the Soviet federation with a confederation, that it would lead to a disruption of existing economic, social, and cultural ties between Estonia and the USSR, and would mean a step backward, into a defunct past.

Other factors which allegedly detract from republics' rights were also discussed in detail at the deputies' preparatory commission, although no substantiated proof was furnished for this claim. There were attempts to try to trace possible encroachments on republics' interests, in a number of cases ambitions and a desire to pander to individual demagogic nationalist groupings predominated and ultimatum-type demands were put forward. Deputies patiently explained the flimsiness of these proposals, appealed for greater political wisdom, warned against seeking solutions based on separatism, and proposed that existing problems be resolved on a democratic basis without undue haste and emotional outbursts. Individual comrades proposed that only the Law on Elections should be discussed at the current session, without defining the functions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. Or that they should be defined in general terms only, as was suggested in some speeches at the session yesterday.

I regard these proposals as unacceptable because this would hamper restructuring. In electing the new organs of power, voters must know precisely what their brief will be, what functions these organs will fulfill. It will be precisely these new organs of power, invested with the necessary authority, which will head and implement the work at subsequent stages of the restructuring. This work will relate to questions of local self-management, the enhancement of the rights of union and autonomous republics, interethnic relations, and other overdue issues. [passage omitted]

Kirghizia's Masaliyev Speaks

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1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[Speech by Deputy A.M. Masaliyev of Przhevalskiy Electoral Okrug, Kirghiz SSR (first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee) delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the Kirghiz SSR support the political reform measures submitted for discussion by the session and the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

The republic's working people have broadly discussed the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, approved them in the main, and made specific proposals to improve them. At the same time, they have spoken in favor of restructuring being more actively and effectively implemented and of stronger order and discipline at all levels, and have expressed the concern that words should be matched by action.

For a vast, multiethnic country like ours, political reform is exceptionally complicated. After all, we have made a considerable number of errors and miscalculations. That is why every step in the practical implementation of reform must be considered from every angle and properly thought through. The CPSU Central Committee is right to introduce major issues of sociopolitical and state building for nationwide discussion.

The greatest response in our republic has been prompted by Article 95, in accordance with which social organizations are given the right to directly elect one-third of people's deputies. As we interpret it, this will broaden the soviets' social base and also ensure that broader strata of society are represented in the highest bodies of authority at all-union level and in the union and autonomous republics. These strata will not only represent the electorate living in the area in question but also a definite system of views and attitudes. People have expressed objections and doubts regarding the democracy of the proposed procedure for electing deputies from social organizations. But I feel these fears are unfounded. On the contrary, this principle generally increases the soviets' democratic potential, makes them a very representative organization of the people, and allows them to more fully consider the people-wide, national, class, professional, age, and other interests of the working people and express these interests in their activity. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev convincingly made this point in his report.

During the discussion of the draft laws, keen debates have sprung up over issues concerning interethnic relations. We are all well aware that the USSR is not a mechanical combination of regions but a strong union of equal, fraternal republics, a large, united family. But, as in any family, we cannot rule out the possibility of various problems and disputes arising, which at times are not exactly pleasant. This is especially true now, when we are broadly democratizing every aspect of our lives. There is certainly nothing unnatural about this. Every republic has the right to independently resolve urgent problems and exercise its sovereign rights—with consideration for all-union interests, of course.

At the same time, it is not to the general advantage for a republic to make hasty decisions which overstep the limits of the powers of that region, run counter to statewide laws, and affect the interests of the Soviet people as a whole and our common socialist motherland, as has been the case in the Estonian SSR. We support the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on this matter.

In this connection I would also like to say that now, within the framework of restructuring, favorable preconditions are being created for the all-around flourishing of every nation and ethnic group in the country and serious distortions in national policy are being eliminated. A special Central Committee plenum is going to be devoted to the nationalities question. We should welcome all this and do our utmost to comprehensively strengthen the friendship and fraternity between our peoples and protect it as something precious. In this respect we would like to see good-neighborly relations between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis restored as soon as possible.

A uniform practice of applying and enforcing the law would seem to be the foundation for successfully building a rule-of-law socialist state. In view of this, one cannot fail to agree with the preparatory commission's proposal to remove from clause 12 of Article 108 of the draft the words that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has sole jurisdiction over the abrogation of legislative acts passed by union republics' supreme bodies of power if they run counter to the USSR Constitution. In our opinion, such an approach would lead to the Congress of People's Deputies departing from those functions which stem from its tasks as the supreme legislative, administrative, and control body of state power in the country. What is more, the above clause of the draft should be supplemented with the right to suspend republic-level legislative acts in order to give republics the opportunity to themselves abrogate any of their laws adopted in breach of the USSR Constitution.

The principle of rotating deputies in the supreme body of power is to be introduced in accordance with Article 111 of the draft law. It is proposed to annually renew as many as one-fifth of deputies in the Supreme Soviet and its standing commissions. In our opinion, this is the right approach. It will make it possible to involve the majority of people's elected representatives in legislation and monitoring activity. At the same time, as deputies have already said, it is not clear from the draft as to how this renewal process will be implemented, on what basis deputies will be selected, and who will have to relinquish their powers. It would obviously be right to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to submit proposals on changes to the Congress of People's Deputies.

Article 112 proposes that regular spring and fall Supreme Soviet sessions be convened, each lasting for a period of 3-4 months. Is such a long period justified? After all, it would mean that people will be taken away from their main employment and their family for 6-8 months every year. In our opinion, it would be expedient to reduce the length of the sessions and instruct the standing commissions to prepare some of the questions or else temporary deputy groups organized for this purpose. We feel that deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet should not only sit in session in Moscow but also spend a substantial proportion of their time at local level, studying citizens' opinions on any law (or decision) and involving USSR people's deputies and local soviet deputies in the area in their work.

I would like to dwell on the draft law on elections of people's deputies. According to Article 55, it is proposed to consider a candidate people's deputy elected if he receives more than half of the votes cast by the electorate who take part in the election process. In our opinion, this practice does not justify itself—we have become convinced of this from examples in several regions. We feel that it would be more democratic and fair if the principle were to elect a candidate deputy on the basis of a majority vote. This would obviate the need for several rounds of elections and prevent funds and energy from being diverted for this purpose.

The draft law on elections of people's deputies should be supplemented with a section containing articles defining the procedure for recalling deputies so that issues connected with the procedure for electing and recalling deputies are regulated by one law.

On the whole, however, the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and elections of people's deputies submitted for discussion by the session are in the spirit of the time and deepen democracy.

I also believe that after the draft laws have been adopted, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium should organize their comprehensive explanation and propaganda, involving competent specialists and the deputy aktiv for this purpose. Our citizens, and particularly young people, should be well familiar with the nature and relevance of the amendments made. It will be extremely necessary to establish permanent monitoring to ensure that all state bodies, collectives, and citizens meet constitutional requirements in full and to the letter. This will ensure order in the country, which, I must be frank, is still inadequate in some places.

I support the proposal to adopt the draft laws taking account of observations and additions. (Applause)

Turkmenia's Niyazov Speaks

PM0212113388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 7

[Speech by Deputy S.A. Niyazov of Bezmeinskiy Electoral Okrug, Turkmen SSR, (first secretary of Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee) delivered at 30 November morning joint session of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Esteemed deputies! The discussion of the draft laws has been an extensive and committed process in Turkmenistan. It was a kind of referendum in which thousands of working people participated. Practically no one opposed the essential content of the documents under discussion. We do not see this as an indicator of indifference. It is for us an indicator of the revival of the moral and political health of society, which was thoroughly undermined during the stagnation years.

We can sense the activeness of the republic's working people and their faith in restructuring and the party's general line among the workers, among the peasantry, and in intellectual circles. Of course, it is not all plain sailing in our republic. People are reacting sharply to shortcomings in trade, the social sphere, and public health. Slowly but surely, their souls are regaining their shape and their hearts are melting, having been so long in social hibernation. The political task for our republic party organization is not to disappoint the people's hopes and to give them strength in the struggle for restructuring. And much depends here on how the reform works, on whether we are able to avoid the formalism that has so pitted our society.

The nationwide discussion of the new draft laws has ended. The results of the current USSR Supreme Soviet session should be an important stage in the implementation of the decisions of the 19th party conference on deepening restructuring and reforming our state's political system.

The USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from our republic fully approve and support the basic provisions of the draft laws. We also support the proposal on demarcating the powers of the chambers of the supreme organ of power. The Soviet of the Union should concentrate on questions of state building and the country's socioeconomic development. The Soviet of Nationalities should deal with problems of interethnic and national relations. At no point in the past has this organ ever really considered a single fundamental question connected with the specific conditions of the life of the union republics or the peoples of ethnic minorities.

It is clear from the submitted drafts that the preparatory commissions have done a great deal of work. The essential points made in thousands of proposals were taken into consideration and they will undoubtedly enrich the content of the draft laws, which are intended to form the basis of the democratization of society, the creation of a rule-of-law state, and the establishment of soviets' sovereignty—as V. I. Lenin understood it. The projected measures will permit even fuller exploitation of our society's economic potential and will contribute to strengthening the friendship of the peoples and uniting all nations and ethnic groups to attain the goals of restructuring and accelerate the country's socioeconomic development. The very course of the discussion convincingly demonstrated that the party's course of the democratization of society is encountering wider and wider support.

We believe that the experience acquired in the course of the discussion of the draft laws can be borrowed and used creatively in in the preparation of draft amendments and additions to the Turkmen SSR Constitution and republic laws on elections. This work is already under way in the republic.

Comrade deputies! It is clear that the economic and political reforms are interdependent. We will not be able to implement the one in isolation from the other. The amendments to the Constitution are geared to achieving genuine, not phony people's power. I must say that working people in our republic have realized and sensed this.

We all want to live better. "Work well and you will live better"—we often hear this exhortation, a product of the widespread notion that our people are sluggish. Now that the time has come for honesty and truthful self-appraisal, we say: Yes, we work badly. But is it due to our sluggishness alone? There are specific features of way of life and national character and they cannot be classed as either good or bad. They are objective. Not in defense, not in justification of our people, not to contrast them with others, but for the sake of the truth, I will say that our people are open and amicable and, to a large extent, they have an innate sense of internationalism. There are many examples of this in the history of socialist building. Take the Karakum Canal. For decades it was the symbol of the heroism, conscientiousness, and enthusiasm of the Turkmen people. Today the canal stands accused of all mortal sins. There are calls for its closure in order to save the Aral. Yes, the Aral must be saved. But closing the canal would mean dooming the republic to even great stagnation, despite its economic and intellectual potentials. And they are considerable, albeit contradictory.

Judge for yourselves. On the one hand, you have a vast territory, very rich resources, and an untapped national economic potential. On the other hand, you have imbalance in the development of the economy and production and infrastructure sectors, a poor rate of industrialization, and a high percentage of people unemployed. The socioeconomic backwardness of the republic is an age-old phenomenon. But tempting though it may be to seek out all the imperfections of the past, including the recent past, the present day, still filled with great contradictions, demands a sober, objective, science-based perception of the republic's place and assessment of its role in the unionwide division of labor. Is it a normal situation, for example, where over 90 percent of the cotton and wool and 70 percent of the raw silk produced by the republic are processed elsewhere and Turkmenistan's financial position is not improving as a result.

The republic is one of the main producers of cotton, particularly the fine-fiber variety. But we send it to the ends of the earth for processing. We cannot solve the question of final processing even of some of the above-plan cotton ourselves—it needs a decision by union ministries and departments. Is it fair that our population should be experiencing a severe shortage of cotton fabrics and clothes? That the republic which is the country's number two gas producer should be unable to supply its villages with it?

So you can judge for yourselves whether we are parasites or not, whether we know how to work or not. As long as running the economy is an exercise in approximation and as long as the contributions and interests of the regions are not taken into account, there will be errors in the utilization of national income.

Clearly, it is time to make the methods of socialist management flexible and variable. The Turkmen model of republic economic accountability will be specific, of course. But it must be part and parcel of the unionwide economic mechanism. I think this applies equally to all the republics. And we are right here to raise the question of the correspondence between the established principles of centralism and the new management conditions and of the responsibility of union organs for the development of territories and regions. Indeed, the republics can and want to run their economies independently, in accordance with the interests of the regions. But where state interests come into effect everything must must be devoted to the solution of the fundamental strategic tasks of the national economic development of the country as a whole. So what is needed, therefore, is a modern concept of centralism, enriched with new political and economic thinking.

We are talking about regional economic problems. Yes, they do exist. They did not arise overnight either. They have gradually come to a head because of defective economic relations and general stagnation. It is my profound conviction that the outbreaks of interethnic enmity and recurrence of ethnic isolation stem from this. Yes, we want to live better. Every people and every republic. And we will live better. The guarantee of this is the historic irreversibility of restructuring.

Forbearance and patience are important today: The difficult, crucial hour of restructuring has struck. But it is this that calls upon us to bring back into currency such moral values as conscience and honor, charity and compassion, magnanimity and responsiveness. Which of the peoples is bereft of them? Not one. Are ethnic priorities worth so much today if they are being upheld contrary to the principles of humanity, collectivism, and comradeship?

Yes, restructuring is a struggle. But life is also a struggle. Is it not time we learned the tactics of this struggle—serious, well-argued, and well-balanced? Is it not time we learned to turn our shortcomings into benefits—through their dialectical denial and the resolution of contradictions?

This also applies to the question of the correlation between the rights and powers of the center and the republic. We assume that the solution of the question as a whole will be a task for the second stage of political reform. Preparations are under way in our republic for the CPSU Central Committee plenum which will comprehensively examine problems of the development of nations and harmonization of interethnic relations. Party organs, state departments, and scientific institutions are working on generalizing experience and preparing proposals.

The management of the economy is another question of relations between the center and the republics that has special significance. We consider it necessary to decentralize and limit departments' arbitrary decisions. This is demanded not only by considerations of economic expediency, but also by political and moral motives. Overly solicitous treatment gets people at local level out of the habit of thinking for themselves and displaying initiative; they get used to acting mechanically, and they are deprived of the incentives that make creative effort possible.

In advocating a rational widening of republics' rights, we consider it essential that it should be combined with the strengthening of our union's unity. We Turkmen people have seen for ourselves that the republics, as M.S. Gorbachev said, need a strong center. You will appreciate, of course, comrades, that I am referring to the tragedy of our people, the consequences of which the entire union, all the fraternal republics helped us overcome. Young people may not know of the earthquake 40 years ago, as a result of which our capital, Ashkhabad, was practically destroyed. The country came to our aid. And Ashkhabad was raised from the ruins in only a few years. That is what our USSR is like, that is why we want both independent republics and a strong center.

As for the economy, we consider it necessary to bear in mind that an integral economic complex has taken shape in the country and the socioeconomic progress of the republics largely depends on its development. In this connection, I want to object to what Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman comrade A.V. Gorbunov said, as SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA reported on 19 November: "The union budget received a great deal of profit from Latvia, so we are not asking for subsidies like the Central Asian republics, but are merely asking for more funds to be left in the republic's budget to meet the legitimate demands of all the peoples of Latvia for the development of their cultures. It was they who earned the money".... "Those republics which organize their budgets on the basis of central subsidies are scarcely going to want to make any changes. Or, for instance, make any constructive proposals, not to mention constructive criticism."

My reply to this would be as follows. Our stance is dictated by the fundamental principles of socialist federalism, enshrined in the USSR Constitution, and concern for the development of our unitary, I stress, unitary, multinational state. As for subsidies and alleged dependence on the center, the Central Asian republics do not feel like "poor relations." Oil, gas, cotton, machine building and agricultural products are not only consumed by the whole country, but provide a considerable part of the foreign currency revenue.

There is a saying: "The road is mastered by the traveler." We haven't time to stop. And it is scarcely worth seeking historical analogies. There cannot be any. Never before have we restructured our social and political institutions without stopping on the road of history. It is very important for us all to realize this. We have no alternative. That is why working people and Communists of Turkmenistan are persistently implementing the ideas of restructuring. (Applause).

Yakutsk's Prokopyev Speaks

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[Speech by Deputy Yu.N. Prokopyev of Bulunskiy Electoral Okrug, Yakutsk ASSR, and first secretary of Yakutsk Obkom, delivered at the 30 November morning joint session of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers]

[Text] Comrade Deputies! The practical work of implementing the reform of the political system has begun with the nationwide discussion of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and draft Law on Elections of People's Deputies. Yesterday we listened with great interest to the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who gave an in-depth summary of the results of the discussion and who revealed very intelligibly and convincingly the urgency of the reform of the political system at the present stage on the basis of 3 and ½ years' work under conditions of restructuring. It is no secret that voices have been heard saying: Have we not tackled this task prematurely, without completing the economic reform or providing the appropriate material base? The report convincingly showed why the reform of the political system must be carried out in an organized manner and without delay. The majority of people have realized this, which is why the discussion of the proposed drafts was so vigorous and interested. The democratic nature of the discussion also consisted of the fact that central organs sincerely strove not only to study and comprehend, but also to take into account in the draft documents the legitimate interests of all the country's nations and ethnic groups and all social groups of the population as the basis for further strengthening the socialist motherland's unity and might.

In the course of discussing the draft laws the working people of Yakutia put forward numerous suggestions and additions. They all reflect a wide range of views and have manifested a real pluralism of opinions. All the suggestions made enshrine full support for the basic provisions of the draft laws aimed at implementing the political reform in the sphere of state building.

The discussion of the draft laws shows that everyone must study democracy and, most importantly, learn to resolve the most important questions relating to the life and activity of all Soviet people from positions of internationalist consciousness, from positions of strengthening our multinational state. In this connection the Communists and all the working people of Yakutia are concerned about individual points in the decision of the extraordinary session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet on enshrining the right in certain instances to suspend or establish the limits of application of USSR legislative acts on the republic's territory. As many of the deputies who have spoken have rightly said, this is plainly at variance with the principles of the unity of the country's peoples and the existing USSR Constitution.

If we agree to this decision, today Estonia and tomorrow other union and autonomous republics will begin revising the fundamental all-union legislative acts, guided only by their narrow national interests. Such a stand is alarming because it leads to the shaking of the foundations of our multinational state. And this can in no way be permitted.

We Communists of Yakutia are firmly convinced that in the search for ways to improve the country's political system everyone must strive for the economic and spiritual consolidation of the Soviet people, of the peoples and republics, and not seek their isolation. We realize that we are at the initial stage of our society's revolutionary renewal and that this places a special political responsibility on all Communists and all citizens of the USSR. It is in our common interest to channel the restructuring processes in a positive direction and to ensure all conditions for creating and strengthening the might of the socialist rule-of-law state.

From this high rostrum Deputy Astrauskas rejected the representation of autonomous formations on the Soviet of Nationalities. That is hardly legitimate. Every people, large or small, has its own national interests and features which sometimes transcend the competence of union republics. In addition, there are autonomous republics which in terms of their potential could outrun individual union republics, including those very Baltic republics. And their interests clearly must be represented on the USSR Supreme Soviet, too.

Of all the union republics the RSFSR is in a special position—not just because of historical features but also because of its leading position in politics and the economy, as well as the size of its population. It is inhabited by more than 100 nations and ethnic groups and it incorporates 16 autonomous republics and 15 autonomous oblasts and okrugs. It seems to me that, in addition to the representation of autonomous formations on the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, in order to take the national interests of the peoples inhabiting the RSFSR more fully into consideration, we should ponder the question of creating two chambers within the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: a Federative Soviet and a Soviet of Nationalities.

It also seems expedient to determine anew the composition of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, including on it representatives from each union and autonomous republic in addition to specialists in the sphere of law and politics. This would guarantee their interests on the committee and the implementation of legal oversight according to the national-territorial principle.

Under the new electoral system the problem of the representation of the working class in the composition of USSR people's deputies acquires fundamentally great importance. A reduction in the worthy representation of the working class on elected organs clearly cannot be permitted. Therefore the law ought clearly to define that the number of worker deputies from union and autonomous republics, trade unions, and the Komsomol must correspond to their proportion in the social composition of the population of a particular territory or a particular public organization. This point even should be enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

I consider it necessary also to speak on certain questions with regard to extending the competence of union and autonomous republics. The increased attention being paid everywhere to ecological and other important local problems makes me think about endowing union and autonomous republics with the right to adopt legislative acts, including ones of a short-term nature, governing questions of ecology, the rational use of the environment, and the development of sectors of economic management that are traditional to the local population. Republics should also be given the right to limit the activity of enterprises of all-union ministries and departments that violates nature conservation legislation and also to apply economic sanctions and impose large fines, with the sums exacted being channeled into nature conservation measures. It seems expedient to grant autonomous republics real independence in resolving questions of administrative-territorial organization and the creation of national-territorial formations, with their corresponding representation on elected organs of power being determined.

A situation has taken shape in which the activity of a considerable proportion of the industrial and other associations situated on the territory of autonomous republics is not within the direct competence of local authorities. Under these conditions it is necessary to extend the real rights of autonomous republics in determining the social development policy of enterprises and organizations, regardless of their departmental subordination.

Comrades! It was no concidence that the 19th all-union party conference devoted much attention to questions of national development and interethnic relations and to defining ways of improving them. The broadening of legal guarantees of the realization of the cultural and other aspirations of the nationalities that live outside their own state-territorial formations or that do not have such things occupies a special place in these complex and vitally important questions.

Under the conditions of the Yakutsk ASSR the ethnic groups of the north figure in this category of the population. They are Evenks, Evens, Yukaghirs, and Chukchis. Positive changes have become apparent in their socioeconomic and cultural life over the past decade, and the demographic situation is improving. Measures have been taken to strengthen the linguistic and cultural sphere as the basis for preserving the original culture. At the same time the industrial opening up of the regions where they live advances the need for legal guarantees of the preservation and development of their traditional way of life and economic activity. Therefore, it is proposed that the USSR Constitution include recommendations to union and autonomous republics: When nominating candidates for USSR people's deputies, they are to observe the principle of granting the right of an electoral okrug to territories which unite population centers where small ethnic groups which do not have their own state-territorial formations predominate.

A few words about the effectiveness of the status of deputies under the new conditions of economic management. Thus, the Law on the State Enterprise and the Statute on Labor Collective Councils do not assign the legal powers of the deputy or deputies' groups. These questions should be studied and the corresponding amendments thought out. The law must protect the right of the people's deputy in exercising his powers without infringing upon his material interests. This concerns, above all, local soviet deputies, the broadest and most numerous section of the deputy corps, on whom the successful work of the soviets wholly depends. In short, status must provide guarantees of material independence for every people's deputy. Only in this case can conditions be created for their active and fruitful work.

Comrade Deputies! The discussion of questions of the political reform in the sphere of state building will be an important stage in the further democratization of social life and the deepening of revolutionary restructuring in the country. There is no doubt that the practical realization of the measures envisaged will largely depend on our specific work locally, on the personal activeness of each deputy. Yakutia's deputies fully support the proposed drafts and will vote for them. (Applause).

AUCCTU's Shalayev Speaks 1 Dec

PM0212215088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Second Edition p 2

[Speech by S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, at 1 December extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

As you well know, the powers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, end in March 1989. Following instructions from the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, I propose that the election of USSR people's deputies be held on Sunday, 26 March 1989.

These elections will be one of the first practical steps in implementing the comprehensive reform of our political system.

In line with the Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" adopted today, we must establish a norm of electors per territorial electoral okrug.

According to data provided by the union republics' Supreme Soviet Presidiums, the number of voters on 1 January 1989 will be in the region of 193 million. The law stipulates that a total of 750 territorial electoral okrugs must be formed in the territory of the USSR. This means that there will be 257,300 voters per electoral okrug, which it is proposed to enshrine in the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On Setting a Date For the Election of USSR People's Deputies" as the norm for the formation of territorial electoral okrugs.

Comrade Deputies! The law stipulates that the USSR Supreme Soviet must establish a Central Electoral Commission for conducting the election of USSR people's deputies.

Proposals regarding the composition of the commission have been submitted by the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of all the union republics, the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Soviet Women's Committee, and other social organizations. The law stipulates that a total of 35 people must be elected to the commission.

Deputies have proposals regarding the actual members [po personalnomu sostavu] of the electoral commission.

It is proposed to make Vladimir Pavlovich Orlov chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. V.P. Orlov is a member of the CPSU Central Committee. He has a great deal of experience in soviet work and is well familiar with electoral practice. Until recently Vladimir Pavlovich was chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

All the union republics are represented in the proposed composition of the commission. The commission includes representatives of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and people who work in science, culture, health care, public education, and social organizations. As a whole, all the comrades have sufficient experience and the necessary knowledge for working as a member of the commission.

It is proposed that the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions on these issues be adopted. You have the texts of the draft resolutions. (Applause)

Estonian Minister Interviewed

PM0212121788 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49, 3-9 Dec 88 (Signed to Press 1 Dec 88) p 8

[Reprint of undated, untitled SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA interview with A. Kiris, Estonian SSR minister of justice; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A report on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, M.S. Gorbachev's speech there, and the Presidium decree on the noncompliance with the USSR Constitution of certain legislative acts adopted by the 16 November Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session were published 28 November. The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA has published the replies of A. Kiris, Estonian SSR minister of justice, to some questions connected with this.

[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA] How did the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session go?

[Kiris] The report was delivered by G. Razumovskiy, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Legislative Proposals Commission, who set forth the general opinion of the Legislative Proposals Commissions of the Supreme Soviet's two chambers on the legality of the legislative acts adopted by the extraordinary session of our republic's Supreme Soviet. At the same time he submitted the draft USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree prepared by the commissions. It pointed out that our session's decisions run counter to the USSR Constitution—the Law on Supplementing [o dopolnenii] the Estonian SSR Constitution in four points (the second, third, fourth, and fifth points) and also the Declaration in the third and fourth parts. Hence the proposal to regard these acts as invalid.

It has to be said that the ensuing discussion was highly critical. A. Ryuytel spoke first, then nine other people, mainly chairmen of union republic supreme soviet presidiums, and then Comrade Gorbachev. The assessment in all the speeches was unanimous and coincided with that made by the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions.

[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA] Is the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium competent to pass decisions of this kind, countermanding the will of the supreme organ of state power in the republic?

[Kiris] For this we must take a look at the articles of the USSR Constitution defining the competence of the USSR and the union republics. Primarily this means Article 73, according to which the USSR in the person of its supreme organs of state power and government has, inter alia, to monitor observance of the USSR Constitution and ensure that the union republic constitutions comply with it. At the same time no one but the legislator himself can rescind laws adopted by a union republic supreme soviet. Under Article 121 the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium has the right to rescind only resolutions of union republic councils of ministers if they do not comply with the law. But Point 4 of this article charges the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with monitoring observance of the USSR Constitution and ensuring that the union republic constitutions and laws comply with the USSR Constitution and laws. So the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium had the right to make such an assessment of the Estonian SSR's legislative acts.

[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA] Is it possible to regard this in such a way that the acts named in the decree do not exist, as it were?

[Kiris] In the juridical sense this is precisely so. They do not have juridical force because, under Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, if there is a discrepancy between a union republic law and a union law, the USSR law applies.

[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA] And yet to what extent are the legislative acts adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 16 November at variance with the USSR Constitution?

[Kiris] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium regarded as invalid four out of six articles of the Estonian SSR Law on Amending [ob izmenenii] the Estonian SSR Constitution. Consequently, two articles are not at variance with all-union legislation. These include Article 1, which amends the preamble to the Estonian SSR Constitution stating that international pacts recognized by states of the world, including the Soviet Union, are an inalienable part of the republic's legal system. Nor were there any complaints about Article 6, which introduced a new concept into the political system—public movements. Different articles were among those deemed invalid. Thus, Article 2 records the principle that citizens and corporate bodies in the Estonian SSR are guaranteed legal protection of their constitutional rights. Here the noncompliance consists in the fact that corporate bodies are guaranteed protection of constitutional rights not only by the court but also by arbitration—that is, it was not a question of a fundamental discrepancy but of a juridical incorrectness. Articles 3 and 4 of the Estonian SSR law concerning the introduction of the concept of private ownership into constitutional terminology and recording the republic's exclusive ownership were also deemed to be at variance with the USSR Constitution. Here too it seems to me that the difference consists in the conceptual approach. But the fact remains that in the existing USSR Constitution these questions have been resolved differently than in the supplement to the Estonian SSR Constitution. The amendment to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution, which establishes the priority of Estonian SSR laws on the republic's territory, is of fundamental significance. The same idea is recorded in Parts 3 and 4 of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Declaration. And these, obviously, were the points which attracted most attention and aroused the greatest opposition at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. So, whereas it is still possible somehow to dispute the compliance or noncompliance of Articles 2, 3, and 4 of the Estonian SSR law adopted 16 November with the USSR Constitution, it is very difficult to dispute the noncompliance of Article 5 and of two parts of the Declaration. They are at variance with one of the fundamental provisions of the USSR Constitution. Of course, there are juridical problems here which can be discussed by invoking Article 76 of the USSR Constitution—the question of the connection between the sovereignty of the USSR and the union republics is very complex.

But the principle of the established priority of the USSR laws on USSR territory is recorded absolutely clearly in the country's existing Constitution.

[SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA] Have we begun from the wrong side, so to speak? Perhaps we should have started with a legislative initiative on the introduction of the corresponding changes to the USSR Constitution, which, as we know, basically was adopted back in 1936 and was somewhat modified in 1977? It is not too late to do this even today.

[Kiris] The 19th all-union party conference provided for the political reform to be carried out, which cannot be done without reviewing the basic provisions of the Constitution. As is known, the changes made to the Constitution by the USSR Supreme Soviet session are just the first stage in the reform of the political system. Therefore all questions concerning relations between the USSR and the union republics undoubtedly will not be overlooked in the future. And Comrade Gorbachev emphasized this in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. Therefore special attention is merited by the second point in the decree adopted at the session, according to which it is deemed advisable within the framework of the next stage of the political reform to draw up on the basis of constitutional norms a system of measures and state-legal mechanisms to ensure the union republics' political and socioeconomic interests and to extend and protect their sovereign rights in the USSR. So this work still lies ahead, and since it will be done with the union republics' participation, it seems to me that we must now use precisely this path—active involvement in all-union legislative creativity—to achieve the aims we have set. Comrade Ryuytel pointed out in his speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session that the amendments and additions to our republic constitution can also be regarded as proposals for improving union constitutional legislation.

Deputy Interviewed on Voting

LD0212123888 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] [Announcer] (Petras Teleckas), a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chief agronomist at the Eidiskes

Kolkhoz in Panevezys Rayon, is speaking on the phone from Moscow to a Vilnius Radio correspondent.

[Correspondent] I would like to ask you about the deputies' response to Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, how the corrections to the draft amendements to the laws were received, and what you think about new supplements to them and the new wording which you are going to vote on today?

[(Teleckas)] In response to Comrade Gorbachev's speech, ideas were voiced vigorously by the deputies concerning amendments to the Constitution and laws for election of people's deputies. Here one could find both support, reinforcement and disagreement on individual points and paragraphs, as well as new rational proposals. To my mind this is the most active session of the past 5 years. This is good, because agreement only in the solution of these pressing issues would be disastrous.

Individual speeches made by such speakers as Lavrova, Astrauskas, Gorbunov, and partly by (Goldin), included many rational ideas. During the session many proposals, queeries and remarks were submitted, which yesterday were under discussion by the commission of deputies.

Today, the work of the session will continue. We think that in adopting decisions, there will be differences of opinion both concerning amendments to the Constitution and the laws concerning the election of people's deputies.

I am of the opinion that all people's deputies should be elected directly at electorial regions; amendments to the Constitution should again be reviewed, and submitted for discussion by the newly elected Supreme Soviet deputies.

[Correspondent] What was the reaction toward the declaration made by the Lithuanian SSR deputies to the chairmen of the Unions and nationality chambers which you handed in at the beginning of the session?

[(Teleckas)] To my mind this issue will receive a response today, because it was directed for discussion at the deputies' Commission.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview. We wish you deputies bravery in voting for new laws.

Deputy Velikhov Interviewed

LD0112232288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0435 GMT 1 Dec 88

[Interview with Yevgeniy Pavlovich Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, by special correspondent Igor Zorin, from the "Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Speak" program 1 December in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Zorin] Yevgeniy Pavlovich, the USSR Supreme Soviet session is unusual and untraditional. What is your opinion of the discussions under way here? What have you gotten out of them as a deputy?

[Velikhov] We are standing before the restoration of that which existed immediately after the revolution for a comparatively short period of time, the restoration of true popular power on the principles put forward by Lenin and tried by the revolution—principles, which were then forgotten and completely destroyed.

Indeed, according to the constitution, the Supreme Soviet possssed all rights. It had the lever but not the point of support. Archimedes said that one needs the lever and the pivot. So now we are resolving two fundamental questions: First, we are solving the question of electing deputies and their accountability to their electors. Thus, new deputies are appearing. But the most important thing is that this new deputy is getting both the lever and the pivot.

So, take our energy commission. In general, I wouldn't say that deputies have worked without enthusiasm. They have spent a great deal of time and effort: but to a significant extent all this has run into the sand. Our battle with departmental attitudes has practically ended without results. And I have to say the following: it is in fact possible to understand the department. They also have certain obligations, not only to consumers but to their own workers, production, and so on.

Here there is a quite genuine clash of interests. In this clash of interests, the Supreme Soviet was simply not on top. It had no pivot. Now it is getting this pivot. This means that the deputies of the new commissions will work, will constantly work. This places on them the demand to be professional, and places a high degree of responsibility on those who will elect them. It is necessary that the individual finally understand the needs of the okrug that elects him. He should understand, say, in the Supreme Soviet, in the Chamber of the Union, that he will have to understand the interests of the union.

At the same time, the Chamber of Nationalities will now be able to reflect the interests of the republics, which may differ in some respects. It is necessary to balance these interests. But this balance is not an emotional one. It is based on real interests. So this is enormous work, and requires enormous reeducation.

We really are relying on that short experience the Soviet state has had. It seems to me that it is right that we rely on this experience because (?we have nothing better). We cannot rely directly, say, on the same U.S. experience. It will be different in our Supreme Soviet. One-fifth will be newly elected every year. Thus, over two periods, thousands of deputies will actually pass through the commissions of the Supreme Soviet,

[Zorin] Tell us please, Yevgeniy Pavlovich, do you think it necessary to set up some kind of special school, attached to the Supreme Soviet, for the young deputy?

Many deputies said to me that for the first year, or 2 or 3, they poke around like little kittens and don't know what to do either with the papers or the juridical fine points and nuances.

[Velikhov] Well, in the first place, the work of the deputies in the past has nothing in common with the work that will start next year, because next year, if it really wants to influence the budget, the Supreme Soviet has to work on the budget, and to start at the same time as the State Planning Committee. The ministries and territories, republics, okrugs, and oblasts have to defend their views before the Supreme Soviet just as they defend their views in the State Plannng Committee.

For this reason, there must of course be a very strong staff attached to the deputies, and the deputies must learn from each other. But in general, this idea is probably right. Of course, life itself will teach people. But this will take a very long time. It is necessary to think and somehow quickly guide deputies into the course of action. Intense discussions are now developing on matters such as representation in mass organizations, for example. I understand that mass organizations are confused. Perhaps not all of them. Lavrov, say, spoke very precisely and clearly, and revealed how they at least intend to act. But one problem is that the dissatisfaction is being expressed by the mass organizations by the struggle between various groups. For that reason, it seems to me that two problems are taking shape here. One is fairly complicated: Why should we elect one-third of the deputies not from the territories, but from mass organizations? (?fight on national) [word indistinct], representing nations, republics. Election on a territorial basis is an issue.

But there are also really very interesting issues. I spoke with many Americans after the draft was published, and many Western legislators are now interested in this question. It is such an unexpected one, because, ideally, mass organizations would be able to well represent professional resources, those of a cooperative. The interests of the cooperatives do not coincide at all with the interests of a territory or the interests of the trade unions, the interests of the creative unions, the interests of scientific workers—and there are 1.4 million in the USSR, the interests of engineers. After all, we have neglected the engineer and in general he has been (?pushed out of the picture), so to speak. It is necessary to really elaborate a very interesting mechanism, perhaps a complicated one, that will properly represent their interests and point of view, so it is heard in the country.

[Zorin] Yevgeniy Pavlovich, you are to spend some time abroad, and most probably foreign journalists will ask how you evaluate the decision of the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet session, which is at variance with the USSR Constitution.

[Velikhov] I would put it like this. It is at variance both with the Constitution—that, of course, is the fundamental question, but it seems to me that it is at variance with the general world trend. The European Common Market is uniting; state barriers are falling. Unification is taking place on the basis of the observance of all interests. The world is uniting. We have to join international economic organizations. We have to join as a union. So now we will try to erect some kinds of inside artificial barriers. Well, fis the army (?still to have its own nuclear weapons)? It is the same with the economy. We must now learn to participate in an international integrated economy.

[Zorin] Which, in general, socialist and capitalist countries, in particular Western and Eastern Europe and the ussr, are doing.

[Velikhov] This is a very heavy and complicated task for us, for the whole union. It is not just the matter of Estonia. What is concerned is a group of interests that has appeared. Ethnic and national interests are being manifested in different groups. The individual is showing his interest in unification. But it is important that it is not a destructive interest. Because the main process today is that of integration. It is taking place throughout the world. To create certain internal processes that contradict it also contradicts the interests of all the peoples of the USSR, and of the Estonians, too.

[Zorin] I want to return to where we began. How do you evaluate the political significance of this USSR Supreme Soviet session?

[Velikhov] It is a historic session. We are entering a completelty new political era in the USSR.

[Zorin] Did you think that your activity as a deputy would be like this?

[Velikhov] You know, I hoped that it would be at some time, but I didn't think it would come so quickly. (?It may be necessary) to creatively correct much of what we do in ways that we still can't imagine. This reason, I (?think) we should act immediately. I am in favor of quick action.

You know, this is a revolutionary process. In a revolutionary process the right to exist belongs to those who prove this right. At the same time, the creation of a legal state already demands, and I relate to this as a physicist, as an experimenter, we are conducting a major experiment and we must keep in mind the proper goal. But en route we have to be sufficiently flexible to correct our mistakes in good time. After all, the wisest person is wise not because he makes no mistakes, but the important thing is that he hasn't made the same mistake twice.

Report on 1 Dec Session

PM0212145388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on USSR Supreme Soviet Sessions"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held in Moscow 1 December 1988 under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In connection with the USSR Supreme Soviet's instructions the Presidium examined the recommendations received from the chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions on comments on and amendments to the USSR draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and on Elections of USSR People's Deputies put forward during the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium agreed with the commissions' remarks and amendments and presented them for examination by the session.

The fourth joint session of the Soviet of the Union and Soviet of Nationalities was held in the Kremlin at 1200 hours. The session was chaired by Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

The session was attended by Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, and O.D. Baklanov.

At the behest of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the chambers' Legislative Proposals Commissions G.P. Razumovskiy, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Legislative Proposals Commission, delivered a report on the results of the examination of the amendments to and comments on the draft laws expressed during the session.

Deputy D.O. Skulme submitted a proposal on an amendment to a draft law.

The closing speech at the USSR Supreme Soviet session was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and the resolution on the procedure for bringing it into force.

The USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies was adopted.

The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on further steps to implement political reform in the sphere of state building.

At the behest of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium S.A. Shalayev, member of the AUCCTU Presidium and chairman of the AUCCTU, submitted proposals on the date for elections of USSR people's deputies and the formation of a Central Electoral Commission for elections of USSR people's deputies.

The USSR Supreme Soviet set 26 March 1989 as the date for the elections of USSR people's deputies and set up a Central Electoral Commission.

The USSR Supreme Soviet session received a request from a group of deputies from the Armenian SSR on the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

The response to the request was delivered by Deputy A.I. Volskiy, CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium representative in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on this issue.

This concluded the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Comparison of Gorbachev Speech

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 30 November 1988 carries in its Second Edition on pages 1-3 the speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the 29 November session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Toward the Full Power of the Soviets and the Creation of A Socialist Rule-of-Law State. Report by M.S. Gorbachev at 29 November 1988 Supreme Soviet Session," has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Service Russian version published in the 30 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 30-43, revealing the following variations:

Page 31:

Column a

Paragraph three sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...the cultural field, if we fail to create a corresponding system for managing these processes, and if we fail to radically... (adding "if we fail to create a corresponding system for managing these processes," rewording)

Page 33

Column a

Paragraph seven last sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...were subjected to thorough countrywide scrutiny. That's the first point.

Secondly, I think... (adding "That's the first point")

Page 34

Column b

Paragraph six first sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...The situation should now be changed drastically... (adding "now")

Page 35

Column a

Paragraph five sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...its members are completely freed of any... (adding "completely")

Page 35

Column b

Third paragraph first sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...participants in the nationwide debates. It would... (adding "nationwide")

Page 36

Column a

Paragraph eight sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...can also initiate the elaboration and adoption of laws whose absence... (adding "the elaboration and adoption of")

Page 37

Column a

Paragraph nine sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...entire national economy.

The question of... (deleting passage, picking up next paragraph)

Page 38

Column a

Paragraph four sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...of Soviet society. If this is supported the decision can be taken at this session.

V.

This is now... (rewording, supplying roman numeral)

Page 38

Column a

Paragraph eight fourth sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...soviets presupposes the reorganization of the management... (subbing "reorganization" for "organization")

Page 38

Column b

Paragraph seven first sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...of political guidance.

The enhancement of... (deleting sentence)

Page 40

Column a

Paragraph seven first sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...directly influencing the activity of state power... (subbing "activity" for "bodies")

Page 40

Column b

Paragraph six last sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...of the candidatures.

One more point... (deleting "not only by members of these public organizations but primarily in society")

Page 43

Column b

Paragraph three sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...a new, democratic image for the Soviet Union, already... (adding "image for the")

Page 43

Column b

Paragraph five sole sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...in this country. (prolonged applause)... (adding "(prolonged applause)")

CPSU Approves Housing Sales, Other Issues

PM0512111188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report on a CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 2 December; "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] At a session on 2 December, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined a number of questions connected with the results of the November (1988) plenum of the Central Committee and the implementation of its decisions which, in accordance with the directives of the 19th party conference, map out immediate measures for implementing the first stage of the reform of the Soviet political system. The Politburo confirmed the party's strong interest in the harmonization of interethnic relations and the rational distribution of powers between union and republican bodies. All these questions must be comprehensively studied in party committees and organizations and actively discussed at obkom and kraykom conferences.

The party organizations are called on to conduct the cause of restructuring firmly and confidently and to seek to ensure that the style, methods, and the forms of their work correspond to the processes of democratization and contemporary demands. Delaying practical actions in specific situations is ruled out. It is essential to speak and to defend the truth, to learn how to convince people, and to step up party political work.

It is very important for the campaign for elections of people's deputies to take place in a genuinely democratic atmosphere to enable the best representatives of the workers, the kolkhoz members, and other strata of Soviet society to be nominated to run the country. The Politburo stressed that the interest of the Soviet peoples requires the strengthening of internationalism even more in society. To this end, the actions of all CPSU organizations must be unified. Cohesion, the consolidation of all forces, harmonious work by all peoples of our country, and resolute struggle against any nationalistic manifestions are more necessary than ever before.

The Politburo noted the vital importance of the results of the USSR Supreme Soviet session which adopted laws on changes to the USSR Constitution and on the elections of USSR people's deputies and which launched the reform of the political, judicial, and legal system of Soviet society. In connection with the election campaign which is beginning, the Politburo has determined the first steps for preparing for the elections and nominating candidate deputies from the Communist Party.

Measures mapped out by the USSR Council of Ministers for setting up a major center of the chemical industry in the years 1991-2000 in Tyumen Oblast were approved: this will be based on the hydrocarbon raw materials of the deposits of Western Siberia and will use advanced technological processes. The creation of new gas and petrochemical complexes in this region will make it possible to satisfy the requirements of the national economy for a number of the most important chemical products, including those required for the manufacture of consumer goods.

Particular attention was given to the timely establishment in construction areas of essential infrastructural facilities to provide social and everyday services: housing; public health establishments; schools and other educational establishments; production facilities for agricultural produce; the improvement of the organization of trade, transportation, and everyday services to the population. The state and public importance of ensuring that installations being built are ecologically safe was stressed.

Proposals put forward by the USSR Council of Ministers on the further development of the foreign economic activity of state; cooperative; and other public enterprises, associations, and organizations were examined at the session.

It is envisioned that the rights of the basic economic links in the foreign economic field will be extended. What is in mind is that all state enterprises, associations, organizations, production cooperatives, and other public organizations whose output is competitive on the external market can carry out export-import operations on the principles of currency self-recoupment and self-financing. Additional measures, providing more favorable conditions for setting up and carrying out activity by joint enterprises organized on the territory of the USSR with the participation of foreign organizations and firms are envisioned. The Politburo supported the government's proposal to allow private citizens to buy—as their personal property—apartments occupied by them located in houses belonging to the state and public sector, as well as unoccupied apartments in houses due to be refurbished and have major infrastructural renovations. Payments may be made in installments. The right to acquire unoccupied apartments in houses due to be refurbished and have major renovations will be granted first to citizens who are registered to have their housing conditions improved. Preferential arrangements for payment for apartments being acquired are being established for families with many children and for poor families.

The Politburo examined the results of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand, the president of the French Republic, and also the conversations between N.I. Ryzhkov and E.A. Shevhardnadze and French statesmen. The contacts that took place confirmed that the Soviet-French dialogue remains an important and inseparable factor of contemporary life in Europe and in the world. The proximity of positions that was revealed over a whole range of major foreign policy issues opens up new possibilities for strengthening mutual understanding and cooperation between the USSR and France in the interests of intensifying the all-European process and the establishment of constructive international cooperation. Both sides expressed the firm intention to support the completion of the Vienna meeting as soon as possible and the beginning of talks on conventional arms in Europe.

The firm intention of both sides to increase the pace of bilateral relations and to readjust the existing mechanism of business cooperation with the aim of making it more effective in accordance with the new requirements of economic activity was noted. Accords in principle on further steps in expanding trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other ties between the two countries were reached.

The need was stressed for active and comprehensive preparation for the Soviet-French summit due to take place in France in 1989 which is called on to be a major event not just in bilateral relations but in European and world politics.

Presidium Merges Auto, Farm Machine Ministries

LD0212174288 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR has formed a National Ministry of Automobile and Agricultural Machinery building on the basis of the Ministry of the Automobile Industry and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building, it was announced here today.

Nikolay Pugin was appointed to head the new ministry.

Gorbachev Elected Moscow City Delegate

LD0312204088 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 3 TASS—Today report and election conferences of the Soviet Communist Party were held in several districts of the Soviet capital. They discussed ways of renewal of the political system and realization of the radical economic reform.

Preparation for the elections of the new district committees and control and auditing commissions of the CPSU, as well as delegates to the coming Moscow city party conference was held in an atmosphere of glasnost (openness).

Leninsky District of Moscow elected Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, one of delegates to the city party conference.

Transcaucasus Republics Crisis Coverage Continues

Gorbachev Meets Representatives

PM0512105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition pp 1,3

[TASS report on 1 December meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan on the ethnic conflict there, under the heading "Seeking Ways of Mutual Understanding: Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee."]

[Text] As has already been reported, a meeting was held on 1 December in the CPSU Central Committee between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR representatives, the leadership of both republics and of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] of the Azerbaijan SSR. Comrades N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, A.N. Yakovlev, A.I. Lukyanov, and G.P. Razumovskiy participated in the meeting. After a brief introductory speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, an exchange of views was held on the reasons for the acute conflict between nationalities in the region and on ways to settle it. Participating in the discussion were R.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan; S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia; A.D. Melikov, composer and people's artist of the USSR; K.A. Abasov, head of the All-Union Industrial Association "Kaspmorneftegazprom"; P.M. Davtyan, team leader at the Kadzharan copper and molybdenum combine; L.A. Simonyan, chief technologist of the Kanakerskiy Aluminum Works; E.T. Arutyunyan, leader of a team of metalworkers and toolmakers of the Yerevan "Elektropribor" Production Association; S.B. Muzafarov, drill operator at the "Leninneft" Petroleum Extraction Administration; S.V. Mamunts, director of the 22d Party Congress viticultural state farm, Mardakert Rayon of the NKAO; A.Ye. Mailov, leader of a team of machine operatives of the Kirovabad Aluminium Works; I.D. Laptev, editor in chief of the newspaper IZVESTIYA; S.A. Babayan, chairman of the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies of the NKAO; L.V. Barusheva, seamstress at the Volodarskiy sewing factory in Baku; G.A. Abakyan, operator of the Yerevan Railway station post office; L.Kh. Rasulova, chairwoman of the Azerbaijan Republic Trade Union Council; V.A. Ambartsumyan, president of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, K.A. Khalilov, holder of a personal pension; S.A. Ambartsumyan, rector of the Yerevan State University; Sh.M. Aliyev, chairman of the People's Control Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR; R.M. Beybutov, people's artist of the USSR; M.K. Arutyunyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Trade Union Council; Z.M. Yusif-Zade, holder of a personal pension; G.S. Markaryan, leader of plasterers' brigade of the building directorate No 31 of Yerpromstroy Trust; and K.G. Martirosyan, director of a school in the town of Yerevan.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the end of the meeting.

Participants at the meeting noted with satisfaction that the USSR Supreme Soviet examined with consideration and a feeling of great concern the inquiry from a group of deputies about the situation in the NKAO and around it. They unanimously supported the call from the country's supreme state body for wisdom and restraint to be displayed in the situation that has come about, and completely agreed with its assessments and recommendations for a normalization of the situation.

Discussing the matter, those who spoke anxiously said that the crisis of many months' standing around Nagorno-Karabakh had been sharply aggravated recently, and that both republics found themselves at an extremely dangerous stage. Events in a number of cases had gotten out of control and resulted in deaths, and caused suffering to women, children, and the elderly. And if things are not stopped now, and people do not think again and renounce a confrontational psychology, tomorrow may turn out to be immensely more tragic, and holds the threat of the loss of many of the things that have been achieved over the years of Soviet power. The circumstances demand of every Armenian and every Azerbaijani the greatest responsibility for the destiny of both peoples and the future of their kith and kin.

It was noted that in this extreme situation both the leadership of Azerbaijan and of Armenia had not managed to implement legal guarantees and ensure the safety of the Armenian population in Azerbaijan and of the Azerbaijan population in Armenia. Businesslike steps toward improving relations between nationalities are frequently substituted by bare calls for fraternity and good-neighbourliness. Instead of an uncompromising struggle against those who are inciting people to unrest, who are spreading all sorts of rumors and stirring up discord between nationalities, the reasons for this need to be cleared up, to establish who is more to blame for what is occurring, even at the level of the leadership of both republics on the whole. Essentially, the republics are quite unable to agree on coordinated actions on a single matter connected with normalization of the situation. There is no desire to embark on compromises and mutual concessions; there is only a rigid stance toward each other.

Passions are being heightened by the local press that frequently allows instigatory calls, whips up tension, and is under the thumb of antirestructuring forces. On the whole, in the work of party organizations and the aktiv of the republics, there is no clear political course which proceeds from the realities and the genuine interests of working people and not from the ambitious aspirations of a narrow circle of people.

Discussing the ways of resolving the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh, which continues to remain a hotbed of tension, those taking part in the meeting stressed that redrawing borders under the present conditions is impermissible; one cannot plow up the destinies of people. At the same time one cannot justify the stance of the former leadership of Azerbaijan, which committed quite a number of deviations from the Leninist principles of the nationalities' policy towards the NKAO. It is necessary to resolutely remedy the situation and do every thing to ensure that the life of people returns to normal.

A thorough analysis of the situation was given at the meeting. It was noted that party and local soviet bodies in the NKAO, Armenia, and Azerbaijan have lost control of events to one degree or another. This is the result not simply of confusion, but also of unscrupulousness. Fear of "losing faith" or even saying yes to nationalistic sentiments led to some of the party aktiv moving away from internationalist stances. But the essence of what is going on is not only running up against the problem of Nagorno- Karabakh. It has more clearly illuminated serious shortcomings in the political, social, and economic life; violations of socialist legality; distortions in cadre policy in general in both Armenia and in Azerbaijan; and large miscalculations by the former leadership of both republics.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers are doing everything to correct the situation. The leadership of both republics has been strengthened. Well-known decisions on the NKAO and the region as a whole have been taken. Patience and calmness, complete mutual understanding and mutual aid, and persistent work of all party organizations and labor collectives are needed to implement them.

But such an approach is not acceptable to all. It is becoming more and more obvious that for certain people the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh has become a convienient umbrella for criminal anti-state activity. These are people such as Manucharov, the director of the building materials combine, found guilty of abuses and large scale bribery. It is for precisely such operators that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh is a convenient excuse for speculation. Under the cover of demanding a just solution to the Karabakh question, there is an open struggle for power going on. Elements of this kind are using the mechanism of democracy and trying to gain the upper hand. Anti-restructuring forces—corrupt elements in both republics who obviously do not like the process of renewal of our society—are doing everything they can to destabilize the situation, not disdaining playing openly here on people's national feelings and speculating on real difficulties. Their aim is one: to halt restructuring, to hinder its implementation. It was by their efforts that thousands of people were drawn into strikes, meetings, and demonstrations. They have on their conscience the tragedy of many families who are leaving their homes today, and the deaths of people are on their consciences. The working people are persistently demanding that these madman should be stopped and brought to account.

One very serious omission in the activity of the party organizations was the disdainful attitude toward work with the intelligentsia, especially people of literature, scientists, and workers in the mass information media, which had an effect upon their political and their civic positions. The influence of the intelligentsia upon the shaping of public opinion is great, but it often turns out to be pernicious when it comes from politically immature people.

As a result of deep and all-round discussion of the issue and wide consideration of opinions, the participants in the meeting came to the conslusion that if the necessary measures which are dictated by the situation, and most importantly by the vital, fundamental, and long-term interests of the two people and the interests of the whole country, are not taken now, then it is possible that we will find ourselves in an even more difficult situation. If everything that is necessary is not done, then the shame will fall upon those who are invested with the trust of the people—both Communists and non-party people. The principle of a solution is that there should be neither "victors" nor "vanquished", that neither of the sides must be aggrieved. A way out has to be sought together. The Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples live alongside each other, side by side, and will continue and must live together. The keys to the solution of all problems are in the hands of two republics.

The first thing that all participants in the meeting should do—the members of the Central Committee and the deputies—is to convey the meaning and the spirit of the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the situation in the NKAO to every person and to all working people in Armenia and Azerbaijan.

It is essential to change the atmosphere in the republics and around the NKAO, to shift the stress to improving this atmosphere and cleansing it of all those things that have overfilled it throughout these months, poisoned relations, and ruined people's lives.

In this connection, there is a need for a firm position from all our cadres on the key questions: what to do now, and where to start? Without a change in the positions of cadres the atmosphere will not change, for in the final analysis the cadres influence the situation in the work collectives and people's moods. It is particularly important for the Central Committees, the presidiums of the Supreme Soviets, the governments of the republics, and all leaders and prominent figures in science and culture to take a responsible civic position which is dictated by the people's interests.

It essential for both Azerbaijanis and Armenians to sit down at the same table and resolve all their quarrels, to jointly tear down all the obstacles of mistrust and hostility. The main task today is to unite and consolidate the working people in positions of internationalism and revolutionary restructuring. It is necessary to overcome all the mutual insults and busy ourselves with pacifying the people and stopping events as they develop.

Restoring normal labor everywhere is the main basis of healthy life. To start to work, to bring back to life step by step what has been lost, so that a change for the better begins to come about. The working people are waiting for this; their families are waiting; the workers' collectives are waiting; the normal desire of every person is to work, so that their family may live in peace and their children can grow and study.

Making use of all measures, it is essential to ensure people's safety. Here the labor collectives and administrative bodies must say their wieghty word. The immediate problem is to deal with people forced to abandon their homes. All local bodies must give aid to these people—feed them, house them, and pay attention to the children. They must do everything possible so that they can return to their homes. They must resolutely curtail attempts to use people's sufferings as pretexts for escalating passions and manipulating public opinion. It is necessary for both republics to feel responsible for these people.

The USSR Council of Ministers has set up a government commission for rendering aid to families which have suffered, for providing them with food, accommodation, medical and other types of social and everyday services, and also for finding them work.

An important task is to wage an uncompromising struggle against those who incite the people to disorders, start rumors, and inflame interethnic enmity. It is important to struggle in the most resolute manner against scandalous cases of people being dismissed on grounds of the nationality, right up to exclusion of the culprits from the party and arrests on criminal charges. In eradicating these phenomena it is essential to make full use of the force of law and the authority of public opinion. Restructuring, the life and dignity of Soviet people, and public order must be protected.

High demands were made on the press. It cannot now act in such a way as to destabilize the situation even more. On the contrary, everything must now be done so that the press will help stop the events and transfer them to an avenue of normalization, reconciliation, and amicability.

Considering the complex nature of the problem of the NKAO, it is essential to persistently seek roads of compromise for bringing positions on this matter closer together.

It has been deemed expedient to set up a commission comprising representatives of the Azerbaijani SSR, the Armenian SSR, and members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. The commission's task is to find, in the shortest possible time, an optimum and truly internationalist solution to the problems, without changing the territorial adhesion of the NKAO to the Azerbaijan SSR, as was stressed by the decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 18 July 1988. The proposals that have been elaborated will be submitted for consideration by the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

Those taking part in the meeting agreed to the need for thorough improvement in internationalist education in the primary party organizations and collectives. This needs to be carried out not through formal, slogan-ridden propaganda but by means of painstaking in-depth work with every Communist and every working person.

The crucial time in which we live, the speakers stressed, calls for urgent action. Every word must be followed up by concrete practical deeds. And chief among these is concern for people, their daily needs and requirements, and restoring order to our common home.

Council of Ministers Resolution

PM0512093188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report under the heading: "At the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers on 3 December adopted a resolution on measures to ensure the operation of vitally important industrial and transport facilities of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR.

There are numerous instances of violations of discipline and law and order in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, which are inflicting serious damage on the economy of the republics and the country, and on the maintenance of the population's security and normal living and working conditions.

Some irresponsible elements are attempting to put vitally important industrial and transport facilities out of operation, which can lead to accidents with serious consequences and to the disorganisation of the life of the republics.

Considering such a situation impermissible, the USSR Council of Ministers **decides:**

1. In order to ensure the uninterrupted functioning of the industry, power, and transport basic sectors of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and also stable supplies of fuel, electricity, and heating energy for the population of these republics, to instruct the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, and USSR ministries and departments to take urgent measures to organize the normal operation of enterprises, and above all those directly connected with satisfying the vital requirements of the population.

To ensure the priority allocation to the aforementioned enterprises of the material and technical resources that they need to improve their reliability and functioning, and where necessary to send to those installations highly qualified specialists to render practical help. To organize round-the-clock duty by senior staff at the enterprises.

2. The Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Ministry of Defense are to organize a round-the-clock guard on power stations, oil and gas fields and oil and gas pipelines, the most important electricity transmission lines, pumping and compressor stations, railway transportation and civil aviation and communications installations, water supplies, stocks of foodstuffs, depots for fuel and lubricants, and other key installations.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Ministry of Defense, and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply are to ensure the allocation of the necessary means of transport and other resources for organizing the guarding of these sites.

3. In connection with the emergency situation [chrezvychanaya obstanovka] that has taken shape in the Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, and that is causing the disruption of the normal life in these republics, any deliberate and unfounded cessation of the work of enterprises, institutions, and organizations connected with vital supplies and services to the population must be acknowledged as impermissible. Establishing that personal responsibility for maintaining the normal rhythm of work of the enterprises, establishments, and organizations indicated is the responsibility of their leaders.

4. The Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR are to ensure that explanatory work is carried out among the population, paying particular attention to the fact that those guilty of actions aimed at disorganizing the work of the national economy of the republics and the normal life of the population will have rigorous administrative and criminal charges instituted against them.

The USSR Procuracy and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are to provide a prompt examination of each event linked with encroachment upon the uninterrupted work of vitally important industrial and transport facilities which guarantee the functioning of the republics' national economy and the normal living and working conditions of the population.

Party Work Being Neglected

LD0412195488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] The situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan today concerns all citizens of our multinational country. Special correspondents Yuriy Korotkov and Kuryun Khomaryan report from Yerevan.

[Korotkov] Sunday in Yerevan, and indeed in Armenia as a whole, was relatively quiet. As before, the shops, public transport, and all enterprises with a (?continuous) operating cycle were working without interruption. Despite the day off, many collectives of enterprises who could have been relaxing today according to their schedule were at work. They were making up for what was lost during the recent strikes and absences.

The decision of the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to ensure the working of the vitally important amenities of industry and transport of Azerbaijan and Armenia SSR's have been responsibly perceived in the republic.

At present, much work—and I think of a kind not quite suited to the Army—is having to be done by troops who are on duty in Yerevan. They have been escorting groups of refugees, ensuring their security. They receive an enormous number of letters and citizens' enquiries about the fate of relatives and close ones who have lost each other. Search groups are being formed in troop units under the leadership of experienced officers, which have also been dispatched to the regions of the citizens' former residence to clarify the true state of affairs.

And, of course, the troops have also been fulfilling their basic work—ensuring the security and calm of the population.

This is how Colonel Surkov, chief of the garrison's political department, evaluates the situation in the republic.

[Begin recording] [Surkov] In the region affected by curfew—that is in the city of Yerevan itself—the situation remains calm. There are no flagrant violations of the curfew regime and there have been no crimes or occurrences connected with the curfew regime starting from the 25th in the city of Yerevan.

All the same there are problems which concern us. I feel that today the inhabitants of the city of Yerevan are suffering from a very serious—if one may put it like this—information hunger, especially about events in Azerbaijan, which has an extremely negative effect on the people's mood.

The second serious problem is the problem of the refugees—those who are leaving Azerbaijan and arriving here. As a result of their travels a great many rumors and tales arise.

A great problem is the safekeeping of things which have been left behind there—property, homes, and other valuables.

That's the whole problem. The most important solution, in my view, in this matter, would be the correct one: That people should live in those areas to which they have grown accustomed. (?Again) we all have to work a great deal, and above all work with the party and soviet bodies in rural areas, to explain, and to ensure the people's security.

[Korotkov] And how do you evaluate the tasks of the party, of Soviet bodies, and of local authorities? What should they do in the first instance? And is it, in your view, that they are not doing anything?

[Surkov] In my view, the party and Soviet bodies have neglected their work with people for too long. They have done too little, too inactively, in rural areas, in the rayons, in settlements, and in villages, to cultivate the elementary respect of one nation for another.

For me, as a representative of the military command, the inaction which is today being manifested by a number of party workers—in particular I would note the Gugarkskiy Rayon, Masisskiy Rayon, and Stepanavanskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR—is not very comprehensible.

Thus true party leaders are unable to work in a complicated, extreme situation, but they must. [end recording]

Yerevan, Baku Situations Viewed

LD0212131888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian
2130 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] According to information issued by the military commandant of the Yerevan Garrison, the situation continues to remain basically normal in Yerevan during curfew hours.

By 0600 on 29 November, during the period of the curfew operation in the city, 2,126 persons have been detained and 27 arrested. Meetings and assemblies of citizens, mainly for an exchange of information, have been held in a number of towns of Armenia.

According to information communicated by the military command, several thousand people maintain their presence during the hours of the curfew in meetings being held in Baku. The signing up of members of the so-called Popular Front of Azerbaijan continues in the city. The discriminatory treatment of persons of Armenian ethnic origin continues unchanged. The situation remains immeasurably tense in a number of cities and regions in Azerbaijan.

Television Reports on Republics

LD0212180188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Our special correspondent reports from Azerbaijan and Armenia:

[Correspondent V. Batalov in Baku, identified by caption] Baku time is 1 hour ahead of Moscow time. The curfew in the city has just come into force in the last minute. The streets and prospects have emptied, and driving is permitted only with special passes. Our film crew did not even manage to travel 100 meters before being stopped for a document check. Tanks, armed transport vehicles, and soldiers armed with machine guns—the kind of thing one only used to read about or see on the screen—are today here in Baku, however, a reality. The internal troops and militiamen on guard are the city's guarantee of calm and order; they are protecting the most impotant facilities and controlling road traffic. [video shows group of half a dozen armed servicemn and militiamen stopping the correspondent's vehicle and checking documents; armed vehicles are visible behind them]

Last night the internal troops, together with the militia, combed those districts of the city that are causing concern. The situation is so complex, tense, and explosive that any provocation could simply have unpredictable repercussions. The main thing is to prevent such provocations and to enable the people of Baku to live, work, and rest under normal circmstances. [video shows troops and militiamen stopping other vehicles on a road]

Bosov, can you tell us what kind of unforeseen situations occurred during the night?

[V.V. Bosov, military commandant of the area, identified by caption] One unforseen situation—if one can call it that—was the complication of circumstances in the initial phase, when excesses arose between Armenians and Azerbaijanis at the railway station. That set off a sharp increase in the number of Azerbaijanis entering Lenin Square to tell of the clash that had taken place near the railway station. However, measures taken by the officers and other servicemen, including staff of the international affairs bodies, enabled us to explain to the inhabitants the illegality of the measures they were attempting to undertake to solve the problem. The problems were resolved; we were correctly understood; and, as a result, the task was fulfilled.

[Batalov] [video shows people buying newspapers] The city awakes, and the people of Baku hurry to work. In the military commandant's report, which is published daily in the morning press, they will read the already familiar sentence: The situation in the Baku City Special District remained as it was, for the most part; calm and order were maintained in the city.

Arrests in Azerbaijan, Armenia

LD0412112188 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Excerpt] The assistant to the Soviet Union's prosecutor general, Aleksandr Katushev, has said that a number of persons have been arrested in the Caucasian Republic of Azerbaijan. They used nationalist slogans to provoke mass disorders in Nakhichevan, Kirovabad, Sheki, and Zakataliy. Their criminal actions resulted in human casualties. Legal proceedings have likewise been started against certain persons in neighboring Armenia, where there were also mass disorders entailing human casualties in some of the population centers. Aleksandr Katushev recalled in that connection that inciting national enmity is regarded as a criminal offense under both the Constitution of the Soviet Union and the constitutions in the republics. [passage omitted]

Yerevan Curfew To Be Reduced

LD0512094188 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Text] Reporters say the situation in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, is far from easy though there have been no serious incidents in the past few days. Law and order are being maintained not only by military authorities and law protection bodies but also by politically and socially aware citizens. Practically all the industrial enterprises in Baku resumed work before the end of the week.

In Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, the situation is calm. The curfew in the city will be reduced as of today. A government commission has started working in the Republic to help the people who have left their place of residence in Azerbaijan. In both republics, there is growing understanding of and support for the call made by the USSR Supreme Soviet to show wisdom and restraint in the current situation.

Armenian Republic Situation Tense, Improving

Situation Remains 'Difficult'

PM0412184188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan, M. Krushinskiy, and A. Protsenko report under the general heading "Yesterday, 2 December"]

[Text] Yerevan—There have been noticeable changes in Yerevan's outward appearance. The garrison command has decided to relax the number of daytime patrols. It has also been announced that, as of 5 December, the curfew will begin at 2300 rather than 2200.

One other point: The morning lines outside the newspaper kiosks. Yerevan people have been reading newspapers right in the streets and on public transport on their way to work, heatedly discussing the items published relating to the last day of the USSR Supreme Soviet session and its resolution on the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. People recognize that words are no longer enough to normalize the situation—resolute action is needed.

We must tell the truth: The current relatively favorable situation in Yerevan is not typical of all Armenia. An interview with Lieutenant General V. Samsonov, military commander of the city, published today in the republic newspaper KOMMUNIST states: "There are many explosive areas, particularly in regions with a mixed Armenian and Azerbaijani population. Clashes have been taking place in Kalininskiy, Gugarkskiy, Stepanavanskiy, Gorisskiy, and Vardenisskiy Rayons."

At the same time, it can now be confidently stated that most working people at Yerevan enterprises have gone back to work. This is only a relative achievement, of course, but it is a hopeful development nonetheless.

"We call on all the republic's inhabitants to assess the prevailing situation with a sense of prudence," D. Rostomyan, chairman of the labor collective council at a Yerevan scientific research institute, appealed in the youth newspaper KOMSOMOLETS, "to prevent any whipping up of the situation, and to make every effort to ease tension."

Many construction teams are working flat out. This has been promoted, in particular, by the appeal from the republic's refugee aid commission to expedite housing construction. After all, housing construction in the republic is fairly indifferent—96,000 families are awaiting apartments. So construction workers should work flat out rather than strike.

The trading system, transportation, schools, and kindergartens in Yerevan are working normally. The VUZ situation is more complicated. In most VUZ's only some of the students are attending classes, and the university auditoriums continue to be empty.

The situation in the republic is difficult and contradictory. The unpalatable truth about what happened was stated from the rostrum of the USSR Supreme Soviet session. We would like to believe that the hour is near when both the opposing sides will finally realize that they have to live in peace and harmony.

Yerevan Life 'Normal'

LD0212193788 Moscow TASS in English 1854 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Yerevan December 2 TASS—The Armenian capital lives its usual workaday life today. Passengers do not crowd at stops of the urban transport, as several days ago. Shops, cafes, amenities have been working since early in the morning.

"Everything attests to the stabilisation of the situation", said First Secretary of the City Committee of the party M. Minasbekyan. "Life has come back to normal. Industrial enterprises are functioning. Building operations intensified. There were classes in schools and secondary educational establishments. We expect the city to live at the same pace at the subsequent days."

Local residents connect the improvement of the state of things with the solution of those pressing problems that have accumulated in the republic over the past nine months. New problems—those of refugees arriving from Azerbaijan, the curfew and others—added to them.

On the whole the situation in Yerevan is normal today. Residents of Yerevan fulfil with understanding and a sense of responsibility all the requirements posed by the curfew. There were no incidents connected with the observance of the established regime in the past two days.

At the same time concern is caused by the state of things in some regions in the republic where the situation has exacerbated. Every measure is being taken there to ensure the safety of the population, to prevent clashes on national basis.

Commandant on Protected Areas

NC0412113088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] According to the information provided by Lieutenant General Samsonov, military commandant of the Yerevan City Special District, all those who took to the mountains and forests in Gugarkskiy Rayon have returned to their villages. Those who wished to travel to [name indistinct] did so in four buses escorted by guards by 1700 on 2 December.

The Azerbaijanis in (?Samiyan), (?Agdzhub), Saray, Kursana, (?Almadat), and (?Guzendere) and other villages are effectively protected by the military units.

An additional 50 [word indistinct] men were transferred to [name indistinct] rayon the morning of 3 December.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District

Military Commandant Issues Notice

NC0512080688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 5 Dec 88

[Notice from the Yerevan military commandant]

[Text] The situation in some rayons of the Armenian SSR is still tense. Reference is made to villages inhabited by Azerbaijanis in the Spitakskiy, Masisskiy, Gugarkskiy, Kalininskiy, Stepanavanskiy, and Amasiyskiy rayons, where soldiers are on guard in order to prevent (?any illegal) act.

[Words indistinct] rallies were held in Leninakan and Oktemberyanskiy, during which the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the acceptance and (housing) of the refugees in the Armenian SSR (?were discussed).

Some 26 convoys of Armenian emigrants from the Azerbaijan SSR's Shamkhorskiy Rayon arrived in Kirovakanskiy.

(?A meeting) was held at the Armenian Communist Party Korovakan gorkom, during which issues concerning the (?administration) of [words indistinct] in the villages inhabited by Azerbaijanis in (Gugarkskiy) were discussed.

The situation in the republic's capital has markedly stabilized and the curfew is still being observed. During the past 24 hours, people continued to gather in Baghramyan and (?Moskovna) streets. However, generally speaking, the situation in Yerevan is calm. (?No violations) of the curfew have been recorded.

On 4 December by 0600 hours 474 citizens had (?violated) the curfew, out of whom 197 were arrested and 3 detained. [passage indistinct] The (?people's) behavior toward the curfew officials is appropriate. According to (?figures) in the hands of the commandant on 3 December, some 3,767 families, or 15,446 people, arrived in the Armenian SSR from the Azerbaijan SSR.

Overall, the number of refugees who have come from the Azerbaijan SSR has reached 69,977.

'Normal Labor Rhythm' Returning

NC0212123888 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] The process of restoring the normal labor rhythm is under way in the labor collectives of the republic. On 1 December, all associations and enterprises of the processing industry of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the system of the Ministry of Grain Products, and the fishing sector worked to full capacity, as before. The overwhelming majority of enterprises of the other branches of the economy worked at full or partial capacity. Only around 19 percent of the labor force did not report for work. A certain improvement of the situation has been noted in the construction and assembly organizations of the republic, where absenteeism dropped 19 percent in comparison to 30 November.

At the same time, in a number of enterprises in the cities of Yerevan, Leninakan, and Kirovokan, and in (?Abovyanskiy), Oktemberyanskiy, Talinskiy, Edzhmiatsinskiy, and (?Tumanyanskiy) Rayons, there is still a (?large) rate of absenteeism from work. On 1 December, trade organizations, medical institutions, and other essential services functioned normally.

Writers' Union Cables Appeal to Armenian Writers

LD0512101188 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Dear listeners, recently Aytmatov, Baklamov, Bondayev, Bykov, Gonchar, Zalygin, Karpov, and Markov, all members of the bureau of the secretariat of the Administrative Board of the USSR Writer's Union, had sent a cabled appeal to Armenian writers. Here is their appeal:

Dear fellow-writer comrades, in these grave days for your two republics and two peoples, we appeal to you, the inheritors of a great and centuries-old humanist culture. Interethnic division is once again rife, sowing grief and suffering, ushering in distrust and enmity. Both peoples have suffered victims and losses. This is not the time and place for comparing them. The problem is to prevent new disasters and not to allow the spreading of nationalistic and chauvinist passions, which aim once again to pit people against each other in mindless and [words indistinct] conflict.

Speaking of today's critical situation, we cannot but recall with profound pain the realities of the past and their victims, or fail to pay tribute to those representatives of the two peoples who stood above narrow nationalistic pride and lowly sentiments, thus preventing even graver consequences. It is the vocation of the intellectuals and writers to educate people in the highest moral principles of the much-tortured [bazmacharchar] past. We are all drawn together by a common course that goes back to the depths of history, which is expressed in the creation of a multinational country through a common struggle, through shared losses, but also with achievements.

Dear brother Armenian writers,

You are the successors of the great educational and humanistic work of Khorenatsi, Narekatsi, Sayat Nova, Abovyan, Nalbandyan, Teryan, and Tumanyan, who are considered the pride of all peoples. Today, in this grave hour for the two peoples, we are appealing to you to do everything by pen and word to prevent the blind vengefulness of national egotism from spreading, so that your word should, as always but with added urgency now, spring from the traditions of multinational unity, fraternal love, and peace, so that rational thought and not unbridled passion, wisdom and not mindlessness, magnanimity and not intransigence, should reign in your words and actions in this difficult moment.

Armenian Writers' Union Replies

LD0512102688 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Response of the Administrative Board of the Armenian Writers' Union to the message of Aytmatov, Baklamov, Bondayev, Bykov, Gonchar, Zalygin, Karpov, and Markov, members of the Bureau of the USSR Writer's Union Secretariat—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades: After a long wait, we finally have the response of the writers to the bloody events of Sumgait and its aftermath. Unfortunately, your message evinces a shallow comprehension of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it. Your months-long silence has also rendered the collaboration of our literary organization with the USSR Writer's Union difficult. In this calamitious hour, when Armenian blood is once again being shed, we temporarily set aside the essence of the issue and the historic justice of the Armenian people, and focus our concern entirely on new manifestations of genocide. It is now of paramount importance to stop the bloodshed and to try to save the life of every single Armenian—something which has not been safeguarded on the territory of the Azerbaijan Republic.

Diplomacy is an ancient and curious art; it is occasionally even a miraculous condition of man. But in interethnic relations it is a murderous and destructive one. It becomes all the more terrifying and destructive when (?allied) with falsehood and, what is more horrible, violence. Now, despite the fact that we are fated to be neighbors, the tiny possibility of us engaging in diplomatic contacts or diplomatic dialogue—not to mention friendship and brotherhood—is being exhausted drop by drop. And this is happening in a country which has proclaimed restructuring based on democratization and glasnost, but is not only incapable of preventing these crimes but also of fathoming their political implementations and taking the commensurate judicial and moral steps to provide a historically and humanly equitable retribution for the crime, not only in the eyes of the Armenian people, but of mankind.

The consequence was not long in coming. Sumgait is now knocking on every Armenian's doors in Azerbaijan; it is a replay of the 1915 genocide which took over 1.5 million lives—nearly half of the Armenian people. While the genocide in Sumgait is not in the same league as far as numbers are concerned, it is in no way a lesser one when murder and violence—or quality, if you like—is involved. But even a genocide on this scale—even if we say nothing about its extreme vandalism—is enough to send a shiver down mankind's spine in the waning days of the shining 20th century.

Three things, at the very least, were required for this genocide to be conceived by the leaders of the republic, and for its implementation by rank and file perpetrators: heredity, historical experience, and extraordinary skill. All these improbable ingredients came together in Sumgait. Irrespective of the number of those who were murdered, humiliated, reduced to fugitives, irrespective of the various forms of barbarity and vandalism which were perpetrated, the mass murders, the gang- and even mass-rapes, and the burning alive of people, and so forth, constitute genocide for the very reason that people were killed and maimed on ethnic grounds—the Armenians were killed then, and are being killed now, only because they are Armenians.

It is said that there is no such thing as an evil nation. It is true that all nations deserve respect without reference to the stage of their historical development. But it is also impossible to disagree that every nation has its bastards. And the stunning discovery of 1988 was that there are nations incapable of distancing themselves from their own bastards. This being the case, the mind boggles as to how, after Sumgait, relations will be reestablished with such a nation if that nation, its intellectuals, its writers—and we say this with emphasis—did not manage to find a couple of words not only to convey their sympathies or express their pity but even to express regrets. We have obviously overestimated the achievements of civilization.

The message of the Soviet writers, of the members of the Administrative Board Bureau of the USSR Writer's Union, to Armenian and Azeri writers—irrespective of the fact that it pursues most noble intentions—lacks properly balanced consideration and is devoid of effective content; it is not realistic and, in the moral sense, is heedless because it seeks moral equality where there is none, and where none can be justified.

The evidence is crystal clear: peaceful demonstrations in Armenia, as (?one path of human behavior), and Sumgait, (?an entirely different path of human behaviour).

Behind the cold, chilling word genocide lies the most horrifying tragedy of men and women, of people, destroyed not only physically but also spiritually. There cannot be any dialogue between Armenian and Azeri writers and in general, as long as the profound immorality of the equation mark is not expunged, as long as requests for forgiveness are not directed at the Armenian people, as long as no political appraisal is made of the bloody events of Sumgait and of their aftermath, which shows that the consequence of the events went unpunished; and, in our literary life, so long as the shameful jesuitical slanders of Anar, leader of the literary organization in Azerbaijan—a man who goes so far as to claim that Sumgait did not happen, all that happened is the masochism of the Armenian people who are ready to invent Sumgait—made within the Soviet Union and during foreign travel, are not rebutted.

The heart of the matter is this: In Armenia, several hundred thousand people took to the streets in support of the Karabakh popular movement, which sprang from restructuring and democratic glasnost. Azerbaijan responded with Sumgait. The slogan-toting interpretation (?of this event) and the shameful cover-up by the central press have distorted the essence of the issue, which is this: A segment of the Armenian people, that is to say the segment that was subjected to harsh discrimination for the past 70 years, wished to be reunited with the other—and it ended in Sumgait.

Azerbaijan Republic Situation Remains Volatile

Weapons, Explosives Smuggling

NC0312065388 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Order No 9 issued by Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] It has been learned from competent sources that certain individuals are attempting to smuggle weapons and dangerous explosive objects to Lenin Square.

For the purpose of ensuring safety and preventing unfortuante incidents, the military command of the Baku City Special District will carry out individual searches of persons arriving at the square.

I hereby order:

1. Major General Vitaliy Viktorovich Bosov, commandant of sector No 1, to thoroughly search everyone arriving at the square;

2. To check for the presence of weapons and dangerous explosive objects before demonstrators arrive at the square, and especially in the tents;

3. To carry this out and report by the morning of 3 December 1988.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District

Rumors Cause Lenin Square Rally

NC0312065888 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Notice from Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] A great number of people who were influenced by rumors gathered at Lenin Square yesterday. Certain irresponsible individuals also are attempting to gather people today as well by spreading rumors about a possible meeting. Such rumors and statements have absolutely no basis and aim only to serve one purpose: to impede the designated process of normalizing the situation in Baku.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Baku Troops Fire Warning Shots

NC0412115088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1000 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Notice by Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Tension increased in Baku yesterday as a result of the influx of Azerbaijani refugees.

Law and order was disrupted in the square opposite the railway station and in [words indistinct], Azizbayev, Nizami, Lenin, and other rayons in Baku during the night of 1 December . About 1,500 individuals tried to beat up Armenian citizens in the district where the railway station is located. [passage indistinct] Warning shots were fired on five occasions to establish law and order.

A total of 417 people, along with 63 cars, were detained for violating the curfew. Thirty-one individuals were imprisoned. Nine firearms and two large weapons were discovered.

Recently, there have been increasing rumors about the number of people who have suffered various losses in the Armenian SSR. The city residents have been applying to me on these matters. I explained during my television address that information on these matters is not within the jurisdiction of the military commandant of the special district.

The USSR procurator's office has set up a committee on these matters. The committee's address is: 15-A Pushkino Street, Moscow. You can apply to this address.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District

Curfew Violations Warned Against

LD0412125088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Communique issued by Baku City Special District military commandant]

[Text] Dear comrades, residents, and visitors of Baku City. Now, when the refugee problem is hanging over all of our heads like a dark cloud, is not the time for staging meetings. Many of you know me by sight, and many of you have met me in the streets, in Lenin Square, and at Baku Gorkom, Raykom, and other executive committee receptions. I have spoken with Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, and other nationalities. I have listened to every one of them carefully, and I have not left anybody's request unanswered.

The tragedy which has regrettably become a reality makes all of our hearts ache equally. As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said, the time has come to stop, think, and help people who are experiencing misfortune. We must all be united in fulfilling this noble, humanitarian, and urgent duty.

With the power vested in me by the CPSU Central Committee as Baku City Special District military commandant, I would like to explain that with the declaration of the special situation and the imposition of curfew, the staging of meetings and demonstrations is prohibited. I request leaders of meetings and demonstrations on Lenin Square and others to abide unconditionally by Soviet laws. Force will be used in case of failure to abide by regulations established by law.

I request resident and visitors of Baku City to pursue calm, be organized, and maintain law and order. The Special District troops' only duty is to protect the life, honor, and dignity of every USSR citizen within the city limits.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, Baku City Special District military commandant

Papers Report Housing Program

NC0512085288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has examined the measures required to radically improve the work carried out to make new housing areas available and better organize and maintain the housing program through engineering [word indistinct]. The decision adopted during a recent plenum held by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the matter was published in the newspapers today.

The decision established the measures required for improving social, cultural, and engineering [word indistinct] in the housing areas in cities and rayons. It also called for the allocation of the means and material and technical equipment needed for upgrading engineering communications systems and improving housing areas.

Shaumyanovskiy Rayon Commandant

LD0412151288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] A meeting of the party aktivs of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon was held in an organized, efficient, and businesslike manner. After the meeting participants heard a detailed report about the situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia and the measures being taken to stabilize the situation. (?Irmiz Sharifov), first secretary of Shaumyanovskiy Raykom, talked about the patriotic initiatives of the rayon working people. Representatives of industrial enterprises, health centers, and schools proposed opening a special bank account for the rayon for the construction of housing for those who migrated from Armenia. The headquarters set up to those who have emigrated to the rayon began work.

Rear Admiral Zhdanov, commandant of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon of Baku City, spoke at the meeting. He said that thanks to the joint activity of fighters and working people, it has become possible to significantly improve the situation in enterprises. An appeal to the working people and residents of Shaumyan was adopted at the meeting. The appeal notes today all complex [word indistinct] depend only on [word indistinct] conscientious work. For the sake of our general prosperity, it is necessary to go from speeches, meetings, slogans, and demands to specific work.

Refugees Pour Over Armenian, Azerbaijani Borders

Refugee Aid Commission

LD0212172588 Moscow TASS in English 1721 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—In connection with the tense situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan and the arrival in the two Soviet republics of many people forced to leave their homes, the USSR Council of Ministers today set up a government commission to extend aid to these citizens.

They will be provided with food, housing, medical and other social and consumer services and given jobs.

The commission, headed by Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, includes the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and representatives of a number of union ministries and departments.

The commission has begun work.

More Details on Aid Commission

PM0412123988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Government Commission Set Up"]

[Text] In connection with the tense situation in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's, and the appearance on the two republics' territories of considerable numbers of people forced to leave their permanent places of residence, the USSR Council of Ministers on 2 December set up a government commission to assist these citizens who have found themselves in difficulties and to provide them with food, housing, medical and other kinds of social and consumer services, and work.

The commission is headed by B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and comprises F.T. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; G.N. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of a number of union ministries and departments.

The commission began work the same day.

Armenian Refugee Commission Meets

LD0212124188 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] A meeting of the Armenian Council of Ministers commission for problems of Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan has been held. It was noted that, as a result of unprecedented incidents of vandalism and violence in the Azerbaijan city of Sumgait, some 28,000 Armenian residents from various regions of Azerbaijan moved to Armenia between February and 15 November 1988. All of them have been settled in various cities and rayons in the Armenian Republic; many of them have exchanged their homes. A total of 191 private houses are being built for the refugees.

However, as a result of a sharp deterioration of the situation in Azerbaijan, a new wave of refugees arose after 25 November. Over 20,000 persons have since arrived in Armenia, the majority of them without the necessary articles, clothing, documents or money, and in need of medical, material, and moral assistance. The commission is embarking upon urgent measures for temporarily settling all refugees and providing them with necessary assistance. The refugees have been temporarily settled in almost all rayons and towns of the republic, with the majority finding refuge with relatives and friends. A proportion is being housed in boarding houses, rest houses, guest houses, and lodging houses. Other capacities are also being utilized.

The commission has appealed to all Armenian construction and transportation organizations and their workforces as well as to enterprises of the construction industry to organize round-the-clock work everywhere to accelerate the commissioning of unfinished housing in all rayons and towns.

Rayon Tackles Refugee Problem

PM0212152388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[Ye. Kubichev, N. Ordinyan report under the general heading "Our Special Correspondents' Report: There Is No Such Thing as Other People's Troubles"]

[Text] Yerevan—"Skazka"—reads the inscription on the gate of the vacation center located in a charming valley near Spitak, the rayon center. This wonderful place in the pure mountain air can, in normal conditions, accomodate 300 children and 150 adults for a carefree vacation. Now there are no tourists. Six beds are crammed into rooms meant for two. The corridors, passages, and halls are full of people sitting silently, utterly exhausted, wrapped up in their thoughts.

At present, 700 people of the 1,500 who have arrived in Spitakskiy Rayon from Kakhskiy, Vartashenskiy, and Belokanskiy Rayons and Sheki and Zakataly cities in Azerbaijan are housed here. In the yard of the "Skazki" vacation center there are several dozen bundles—the belongings of those who managed to bring something with them. Others arrived carrying only their documents, dressed in what they happened to be wearing when they left their hearths and homes—some of them do not even have a coat, while men's jackets and women's knitted cardigans are the most common type of clothing.

The dozens of people to whom we have spoken here all say the same thing: The local authorities at their place of residence had warned them that they could no longer guarantee their safety and advised them to leave the republic as soon as possible. It is true that some people were given 3 days and others only a few hours to organize themselves. There was no mention of compensation for houses, livestock, furniture, or other property.

How are these people being helped here? More than half of the 1,500 who have arrived are staying with families of Spitak inhabitants who have expresseed a readiness to share the misfortune of those who have lost everything. Each family has been given R100. Free food has been organized at the "Skazka" vacation center. Anyone who wants to go to live with relatives in other cities of the country—and there are quite a few of them—is given financial assistance.

What we need is prefab housing!—exclaimed Norik Grigorevich Muradyan, first secretary of the Spitak party raykom and previously general director of the Spitak clothing association, about whose work experience SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA has reported in the past. And more construction materials! We are prepared to work round the clock to finish the construction of houses and to convert anything that is suitable into living accommodations. In our rayon not a single working hour has been lost during all these eventful months. Now people are prepared to work Saturday and Sunday, and to contribute the money earned to the fund to aid those arriving.

An Armenian SSR Council of Ministers commission for refugee affairs has started working in the republic. This, we are confident, will go a long way to defuse the situation.

For those people in Azerbaijan who are worried about the fate of their relatives in the Azerbaijani villages of Saral and Kursali, Spitakskiy Rayon, we report that the situation in the rayon is calm. People here are convinced that the inhabitants of these villages are in absolutely no danger from the Armenian population. Nonetheless, serious measures have been taken with a view to preventing anyone yielding to emotions. People's volunteer squads and the militia are guarding the entrances to the villages by agreement with Saraly and Kursali sovkhoz directors S. Osmanov and F. Gambarov. We were present in N. Muradyan's office during talks between representatives of the Chardakhly village in Azerbaijan and the sovkhoz directors. The subject of discussion was a proposal to exchange houses and plots of land on both sides. It seemed that this would be possible. The talks passed in a constructive and calm atmosphere, marked by both sides' respectful attitude toward the other side, and without unnecessary emotion.

11,000 Refugees Arrive in 1 Day

LD0212180288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast, unidentified correspondent's video report from Yerevan]

[Text] The situation in Yerevan and throughout the republic is increasingly returning to normal. There was quite a lot of criticism of the obvious lack of sufficient information, but steps have been taken to correct this. Officials have held their first briefing for journalists and answered and explained many interesting questions.

The amount of information carried in the Armenian press has also increased. The newspaper KOMMUNIST, organ of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, today publishes a report on events both in Yerevan and in the Azerbaijani towns where a curfew is in force.

We were interested to hear that prominent Armenian academic figures have formed 30 information and propaganda groups and have gone out to the rayons to meet with labor collektivs and carry out political elucidation work with the aim of normalizing the situation.

Our youth newspaper KOMSOMOLETS devoted a whole page to the day's events. A night report from the streets of Yerevan confirms that the city's curfew passed essentially without incident. Today it is vitally necessary to demonstrate maximum restraint and keep everything in proportion. Readers' letters were published. Next to them is a report from the government's commission on refugees from the Azerbaijan SSR. Incidentally, the flow of people is growing daily. In the past 24 hours alone, more than 11,000 people have arrived in Armenia.

Let us stress again how important it is here today for people to be well informed. This is having a palpable effect on the rhythm of work. [video shows newspaper pages; troops patrolling streets at night; people buying newspapers from a kiosk.]

20,000 Refugees in Azerbaijan

LD0212181688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 2 Dec 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast, correspondent M. Mamedov video report from Baku]

[Text] Getting into Aeroflot's central office in Baku these days is extremely difficult, for there is an unprecedented number of people wishing to leave the city. What is tearing people, particularly Armenians, away from their familiar haunts? It's certainly not a love of travel, but something worse: rumors, which unfortunately are not being refuted very convincingly and naturally, and the current situation in Azerbaijan and Armenia. [video shows crowd in street outside Aeroflot office; traffic]

Let's go now to the other end of the republic. The Azerbaijan aviation directorate's best pilots are skilfully flying their helicopters across the mountain slopes of the Lesser Caucasus. [video shows aerial shots of snow-covered mountain range] Here, down below, in the Vardenis Rayon of Armenia, there are quite a few Azerbaijani villages. The inhabitants there have hastily abandoned their homes, gardens, tools, and cattle, and are rushing to get away. The reason is the same: rumors. Many daredevils have even tried to cross these snow-covered hills on foot; for some of them it turned into a tragic journey. That's why the helicopters have been sent in. According to the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, more than 20,000 people have arrived in the republic from Armenia in the past 10 days alone. A headquarters has been set up to find homes for them. [video shows several dozen villagers of all ages climbing on board a helicopter]

78,000 Refugees From Armenia

NC0312064488 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0451 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers publish several AZERINFORM reports, including one that refers to the fact that various rumors and conjectures are being widely disseminated around Baku city in connection with the mass arrival of refugees from Armenia. These rumors allege that, among people of Azerbaijani nationality, there is a large number of killed and seriously wounded. It is claimed with particular persistence that, allegedly, there are people who have had their ears and noses cut off. Quoting information from the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Health, AZERINFORM reports that 17 persons have been treated in Baku medical establishments over the past few days. Of these, 3 were given first aid treatment and 14 were hospitalized with various injuries. Their health and condition is satisfactory.

As for the aforementioned rumors about alleged brutalities, no such case has been registered. This is the kind of conjecture that is aimed strictly at exacerbating the situation in Baku.

The papers also report on the measures being adopted by the government of the republic, together with the commandant of the Baku City Special District, for rescuing families from areas in Armenia which densely populated by Azerbaijanis in light of their current grave sitaution.

According to a report from the republic Council of Ministers, the number of refugees from Armenia has exceeded 78,000 persons as of 2 December.

Displaced Armenians Cross Border

LD0212132888 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2130 GMT 30 Nov 88

[Text] Masses of Armenians who have relinquished their homes are pouring in through the northern gate of our republic, the Ichevan-Kazakh Highway. Thousands of Armenians from Baku, Kirovabad, Shamkhor, Khanlar, Mingichaur, Vartasen, Zakatala, and other Armenian-populated localities have been displaced from their homes in Azerbaijan under threat of death. Over 2,200

Armenians arrived in Armenia through the passage point at Aygehovit by noon on 29 November. Of these, 1,055 are residents of the glorious Chardakhlu village.

The refugees are unanimous in their insistence that the provocations of the Azeri intellectuals against the Armenian population continue. Through various information media, they intimate that no such threats are made against participants in the new anti-Armenian movement. Holding back his tears with difficulty, Henrikh Alaverdyan of Baku said: They were looking for Armenians; we made our escape by night. Somewhere between Tauz and Kazakh we were attacked by a large mob; my motorcar was destroyed, and my daughter and I were seriously injured. Many Baku Armenians have escaped to Central Asia and Northern Caucasus. Another Armenian said: This time the orders were not to kill Armenians, to avoid a repetition of Sumgait. The deportation of the Armenians of Vardashen and Zakatala began on 26 November, refugee Sevan Dallakyan said. Some of the 10,000 Armenians of these two places moved to Georgia. They were welcomed by the Armenians of [placename indistinct].

The flow of refugees continues. They receive initial assistance in Ichevan Rayon, many of whose residents have volunteered to receive any refugees.

Refugee Phenomenon Investigated

PM0212144788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Dec 88 p 3

[V. Andrianov dispatch under general heading "Our Special Correspondents Report: There Is No Such Thing as Other People's Troubles"]

[Text] Baku—"Refugees"—it is as if this painful word had burst into our lives straight from long-forgotten alarming bulletins. Azeris are leaving Armenia. Armenians are leaving Azerbaijan. In Baku lines are forming from early morning at Aeroflot counters, and the airport and the railroad station are crowded with people. People are leaving—whole families, having gathered all their goods and chattels, and sometimes even before they have had time to gather them. They are being overtaken by rumors which are swirling around, each one more absurd than the last.

Yesterday I went to the Aeroflot ticket office. Near the entrance a square is cordoned off. Inside the square there are two guards, a military and a militia guard. Plus voluntary controllers. The numbers on the lists run into several digits. As everywhere in Baku these days, as soon as you start talking to anyone, you are surrounded by people. People are tense, but they are trying to speak calmly, and to restrain those who get excited.

Who is making these people abandon their homes? Who is spreading rumors? And threats?

After all, this already happened once, last spring. Most of the 17,000 Azerbaijani refugees who left then have returned home, according to A.T. Rasi-zade, first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. I believe that those who are leaving now will also return home one day. But perhaps it is necessary, both in Baku and in Yerevan, to approach these people, to give them a hearing? To check out the information which has alarmed them? Most certainly, this is necessary. We cannot abandon people to their fate.

Many of those with whom I talked at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the Baku party gorkom, and enterprises told me how they are trying to stem this tide. Enterprise managers have been strictly warned about their personal responsibility—both professional and as party members—for unfounded firings. Nonetheless, the number of refugees is rising. The figures vary from day to day, therefore I will not cite them. I will only say that they are running into tens of thousands.

The Azerbaijan Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution "On Measures To Accommodate People of Azerbaijani Nationality Arriving in the Republic From the Armenian SSR." Zonal headquarters have been set up in a number of rayons. Pioneer camps are being hastily reequipped, housing construction has been stepped up. Money is being collected for the construction of houses for refugees. The collective of the "AzNIPIneft" Petroleum Industry Institute has contributed R100,000, and construction workers at one of the "Promstroymekhanizatsia" trust administrations have all given a day's earnings.

People are fleeing not because of a natural disaster. The disaster which is making them sever bonds of friendship is worse than a natural calamity.

This misfortune concerns us all—this is how fitter Aleksandr Stepanovich Skorobogatov, a Russian from the Volga region for whom Azerbaijan has become his second home, assessed the situation. He was sitting in the management office together with engineer A. Sukyasov, administration chief T. Eminov, and fitter P. Kiselev....

During the war Russians, Armenians, Uzbeks, and Tatars fought in the same trenches. We had a common enemy—fascism. What is happening now? Someone wants us to see each other as enemies. Who needs this? I? You? You know, our collective has rejected strikes. We carried on working and are still working. But it is so depressing that you don't even want to go home. Look at the dejected expression on people's faces. I think about the refugees as if they were my own people, both the Azeris and the Armenians. This migration, which is not doing anyone any good, is only throwing people into turmoil, both here and there. In my opinion there is only one way out: Our authorities should firmly say: Stop, comrades, look around. You have nothing to fight about. Think about your children who will have to carry on living here. Living side by side.

Our conversation was long and frank. But I did not hear one unkind word about those who left in recent days. The comrades praised the skill of their Armenian colleagues, their responsiveness and diligence.

I, for instance, have no intention to leave, A. Sykyasov said. No one in our collective was pressured to leave. They simply succumbed to some kind of influences. In our administration and the trust as a whole people have always been judged according to their professional qualities, rather than their origins or nationality.

I am convinced, A. Skorobogatov concludes, that antirestructuring forces are at work here. It is people who are afraid of retribution, who are afraid that they will lose their amassed fortunes. I attentively followed the broadcast relaying the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and I read M.S. Gorbachev's speech with a pencil in my hand. I fully agree with his appeal to all the country's working people to show the utmost responsibility and to rebut antisocial, antirestructuring elements and nationalistically-minded extremists. After all, it is restructuring which is in the balance.

The press has reported the arrest of one of the leaders of the "Krunk"—M. Makucharov, director of the Stepanakert construction materials combine. Ten of his accomplices were arrested with him.

These people have turned the construction materials combine and the citizens' service bureau into sources of nonlabor income, A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy general prosecutor, has said. The court will decide the extent of the guilt of each one of them. We have enough evidence now to indict them for embezzlement. I simply must stress that Manucharov and his accomplices made money from people's sorrow, by misappropriating expensive construction materials and taking bribes for the construction of tombs. Their creed is utterly immoral: "If you want to grow rich, exploit people's sorrow."

In what sort of money can the tears and sorrow of the refugees be calculated? And to whom will we present the bill?

Refugees Increase Yerevan Tension

LD0312191088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Report by Yerevan special correspondents Kuryun Khomaryan and Yuriy Korotkov—individual correspondents not identified]

[Text] [First correspondent] It was unusually warm and sunny in the Armenian capital today. It is hard to believe that it is December and that snowdrifts are on the ground in some places. Inhabitants are walking about without hats, in light jackets and even suits. There are quite a lot of snack bars, cafes, and video clubs in Yerevan where the regulars are reading papers, drinking coffee, and exchanging opinions. The constant topic of conversation is the situation in the republic, interethnic relations, and the results of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and, of course, Comrade Volskiy's address. There is understanding for his words, that the future does not lie in isolation, division, and confrontation: It lies in mutual tolerance and respect for interests, in the striving to meet each other halfway.

[Second correspondent] I quite understand that it is hard to fit into my colleague's autumnal sketch the reinforced detachments of law and order troops and Army subunits, but it is a fact, and you cannot get away from it. The city is under curfew. True, the official report from the commandant's office states that no serious curfew violations have been observed for the past few days, and loyal relations have in general been established between the population and the Army.

[First correspondent] It should not, however, be forgotten that on 26, 27, and 28 November clashes rooted in interethnic relations took place in Stepanavanskiy, Gugarskiy, and Kaliniskiy Rayons. We were informed in the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry today that 38 criminal cases have been brought in connection with these, 7 of which have already opened. Those taking part in criminal actions have been arrested based on the authorization of the procurator. Some 110 persons have faced administrative charges.

[Second correspondent] The increasing flow of refugees from Baku, Kirovobad, Shamkhor, and other regions of Azerbaijan is introducing a tense note into the situation in Yerevan this Saturday [3 December]. Here in Armenia great hopes for an alleviation of the situation are being linked with the governmental commission formed yesterday to render assistance to citizens who have left their homes.

Baku Refugee Situation Tense

LD0312202688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Correspondents Sergey Omelchenko and Islam Kuliyev report: The situation in Azerbaijan remains tense.

[Kuliyev] Today's bulletin by Tyagunov, military commander of the Baku City Special District, states that over the past 24 hours the tension in Baku has increased as a result of the continuing influx of Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia. A particularly critical situation has taken shape in the rayons bordering Armenia. My colleague Sergey Omelchenko went there with a group of journalists. Sergey, you evidently have something to say?

[Omelchenko] Yes, the most alarming rumors are emerging from here—the most unbelievable and sometimes positively wild rumors. But the deeper we probed into the circumstances, we found that they dissipated like mountain mist. One thing is evident: The rumors have really set people against one another, set neighbor against neighbor. The dissension of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis is built upon primarily false information, kindling fear and hatred. For example, the pretext for the current meetings by thousands in Baku was the false report that an industrial enterprise was being built without the knowledge of the authorities in the resort village of Topkhana in Nagorno- Karabakh. We visited this charming mountainous spot and assured ourselves that land had been excavated only for the foundations of two small cottages. Today everyone in Baku understands that the construction in Topkhana is merely a pretext for demonstrations. Lies and fear are the argument of the provocateurs who are heating up the situation to the limit, inciting people to violence. Lies and fear are causing misfortune to tens of thousands of Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Here is a recording I made at Idzhevan station, where 1,500 refugees from Armenia have gathered:

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Where do you live?

[Unidentified man] At the moment, here in Idzhevan, at the station.

[Omelchenko] Right here at the station?

[Man] Yes, right here at the station itself.

[Omelchenko] Are you local people? Where have you fixed yourselves up to live?

[Second unidentified man] Nowhere!

[Omelchenko] Have you a big family?

[Man] Yes, six of us.

[Omelchenko] Where do you live?

[Unidentified man] Here, at the station, right here! We have been settled in various houses. In the homes they have seven of their own children and eight of ours. We two families have been moved into one room. We give people no peace, and we cannot live like human beings ourselves. [end recording]

[Kuliyev] There are presently some 80,000 refugees from Armenia in Azerbaijan. A special commission formed under the republican Council of Ministers is engaged in settling them. On the eve of our program, I had a meeting with Fadil Ahmedovich Yagubov, member of the republican commission for work with refugees from Armenia. This is what he told me:

[Begin Yakubov recording] In the republic we have set up five zonal headquarters to resolve these and other problem issues. These headquarters are located in the rayons bordering Armenia. There are sufficient quantities of medicine, food products, and essential items. From these centers, they are settled in various republic rayons and towns. A great amount of transport and a great number of people have been mobilized. Opportunities have been sought for free places in our hostels and boarding schools. It should be noted that the local population, regardless of its nationality, is very actively responding to the events which are taking place. We have numerous letters from the local population offering accommodations to refugees in their apartments and houses. There are very many families with large numbers of children among the refugees. Questions relating to getting children into preschool institutions are being successfully resolved under the direction of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

I am pleased to note that a number of our appeals to union bodies have met with support, and that the necessary assistance is being given to us. Practically all our demands have been met. [end recording]

Update on Refugee Situation

NC0412110988 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] An Azerinform report published by the newspapers today said that the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, considering the serious situation of the Azerbaijanis living in the Armenian SSR, has been taking measures along with Colonel General Tyagunov, commandant of the Baku City Special District, to transfer families from areas where Azerbaijanis are concentrated in the Armenian SSR.

As has been disclosed by the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, the number of refugees increased to more than 78,000 by 2 December. The majority of them are being resettled in Nakhichevan ASSR and in Kirovabad, [name indistinct], Apsheronskiy, (?Binbulan), (?Murdashi), Shamkhorskiy, Khanlarskiy, and Tauzskiy Rayons. [passage indistinct]

Forty rayons have been selected for resettling displaced people. The local party and Soviet organs, trade and livelihood services establishments, [word indistinct] and cultural centers are ready to receive them. [passage indistinct]

Commandant Orders Refugee Aid

LD0412130488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0300 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Order of the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] Many refugees have arrived in the city recently, and they have many troubles and problems. In order to regulate work and to create normal living conditions for them as quickly as possible, I order:

1. Comrade Niyazy Kakhraman Ogly Karakashly, chairman of the Baku city gorispolkom, and the rayispolkoms are instructed to organize the registration of all refugees who refer to them, to resolve questions of their settlement and feeding, to provide other material help on the basis of instructions of the republic's Council of Ministers, and to set up necessary centers for providing assistance to refugees, and providing them with supplies by 1000 on 4 December. Round-the-clock work by executive committees and supply centers should be organized.

2. The chairman of the gorispolkom is to give me a written report every day by 0800 on the number of refugees who have arrived and the work done to supply them with necessary items.

3. Area military commandants are to organize control over the execution of this order and maintain the necessary assistance for protecting social law and order.

I appeal to residents of the city of Baku: Whoever, in demonstrating nobility and mercy, wishes to settle refugees in their homes and apartments, should report this to the rayispolkom where they live.

[Signed] Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Azerbaijani Refugee Aid Reported

LD0412161288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0204 GMT 3 Dec 88

[Text] Report of AZERINFORM:

The government of the republic, together with Colonel General Tyagunov, military commandant of Baku City Special District, taking into account the grave situation of Azerbaijanis in Armenia, is taking steps to move families from their places of residence. For example, on the evening of 1-2 December, 3,800 people from Masisskiy Rayon, 400 from Gugarkskiy Rayon, 450 from Araratskiy Rayon, 150 people from Kalininskiy Rayon, 482 from Kirovakanskiy Rayon, and 614 people from Stepanavanskiy Rayon were moved. It was reported at the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers that up to 2 December, the number of people who arrived was more than 78,000, of which more than 51,000 people have not been settled yet. The bulk of them are at present in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, in Kirovabad, and in Kelbadzharskiy, Apsheronskiy, Zangelanskiy, [name indistinct], Shamkhorskiy, Khanlarskiy, and [name indistinct] rayons. Headquarters have been set up on the spot. Representatives of the party, soviet, and Komsomol bodies and of the public are included in these headquarters.

Refugees are being settled temporarily in regions where work has been (?left) and are being sent to the housing areas which in this way will be provided there. Temporary apartments are being set up here; two settlement units have been organized. The republican government has [word indistinct] 40 rayons to settle the refugees there. Local party and soviet bodies, trade and consumption enterprises, health and cultural centers are ready to receive them. Ministries and departments are considering above all, to provide these families with construction materials and assembled houses. The task of providing assistance to those who arrive is assuming an all-union character. Ministries and departments, local bodies, enterprises and administrations are allocating means, foodstuffs, and clothing for them. For example, for these purposes, workers of the agroindustrial complex and the construction materials industry and republican committees of trade unions have created a special fund. Aid funds have begun to accumulate in account No 7076.

Refugee Reception in Azerbaijan

PM0412185588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
3 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents A. Stepovoy and R. Lynev report under the general heading "Yesterday, 2 December"]

[Text] Baku—In areas where there has been a mass influx of people of Azerbaijani nationality from Armenia, reception centers have been set up where they can be housed and given help. Collectives at industrial enterprises are allocating small houses for their use. The government is providing material aid. At the initiative of social organizations a new fund entitled "Yardym" ("aid") has been set up at the Azerbaijan SSR Bank of Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development. Students from the university and polytechnical institute have organized collections of clothes and shoes. The refugees are being distributed around 42 of the republic's rayons.

Zangelan is a rayon center in the Azerbaijan SSR located on the Armenian border. Its railroad station has seen an influx over the last 2 days of Azerbaijani refugees from two neighboring rayons in the Armenian SSR: Kafanskiy Rayon and Megrinskiy Rayon. The local railroad school has been turned into a hostel. Adults and children lie on camp beds set up in the classes and corridors. Many villagers have opened their own homes to the refugees. The home of teacher M. Mamedov is housing 33 people from several families. The rayon authorities are also lending a hand. At the initiative of the rayon inhabitants a special refugee aid fund has been set up.

An injured bricklayer, M. Bayramov, has been taken to the local hospital. The elderly man stated that he was injured by persons unknown on Armenian territory 22 November. Barely managing to get home, he was so weak that he was unable to call for help. He spent 4 days in this state. Who saved him? An Armenian friend who found him and ferried him in his car to a first-aid center.

There have been many similar incidents. "Our Armenian neighbors were sad to see us go and helped us load our things," the refugees said. Many Azerbaijanis are also bidding farewell with heavy hearts to their Armenian neighbors. Honest people who have known each other for dozens of years are embarrassed and ashamed about what is currently happening.

People are thinking more and more often: Who stands to gain if, as a result of a mass departure of Armenians, a number of important spheres in the republic's life, economy, and culture are left exposed? Who will benefit from all this and how will this process be stopped? That is what very many people are currently pondering. The pain of the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis is our common pain and common worry.

On 2 December only one enterprise in Baku—the Ali Bayramov Sewn Goods Production Association—was not working. Thirty three enterprises were partially working.

Party Organizations To Blame

LD0412200588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Report from Baku by special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko]

[Text] [Omelchenko] Refugees; today this phenomenon seems to be abnormal and impossible, yet people are leaving their homes under threat or out of fear. Is this fear real or brought about by rumors? It is fairly difficult to say now. There are many refugees. I have seen many of them in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia, and here in Azerbaijan. It is very difficult to estimate the guilt of those who forced them to flee, to leave their homeland. But thousands upon thousands of unfortunate people on both sides—among Armenians and Azerbaijanis—are again starting the thorny road of resettlement. Here, at the station of Mindzhivan, Zangelanskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan, some 4,000 resettlers have gathered together. Zangelanskiy Rayon is on the border with Armenia's Megrinskiy and Kafanskiy Rayons. Mainly people from the rural area of precisely those rayons have come here. This is already the second wave of refugees here; there are men, women, and children among them. What has forced you to come here? Could you introduce yourself, please?

[Dzhafarov] Leonid Aliyevich Dzhafarov. People have left their homes because of threats against them. There are people here who have come here dressed as they were; they did not have time to take anything with them. There are people who did not have time even to take documents and the most necessary things. They left immediately. Now they are without a home, in the streets. For example, they were put up in a school—there are rooms where 30, 40, or more people take it in turn to sleep.

[Omelchenko] And where have you yourself found a place?

[Dzhafarov] At the moment I have a place here at the station.

[Omelchenko] A motor vehicle has brought things belonging to resettlers, refugees from Megrinskiy Rayon. I agree that it is a tragedy that your family and the hundreds of families that have got together here, at this small Azerbaijani station, have to go through that. But you must agree, too, that it is your fault, and my fault, and that of your father who was, for a long time, a party worker somewhere. It means you missed something, sometime.

[Dzhafarov] Yes, we missed something. This is a fault of Armenia and Azerbaijan's party organizations which, for decades, have ignored what has been going on in both republics, where those anti-restructuring forces have now come to the fore. Those anti-restructuring forces have brought about the things that are now taking place in both republics. Our peoples lived together in the same villages, shared sorrows and joys, and lived in friendship.

[Omelchenko] When, for example, Azerbaijanis leave an Armenian village, their neighbors sometimes weep, and vice-versa. What do you yourself think about what to do now, how to go on?

[Dzhafarov] One has to look for compromises. If these two peoples do not find enough willpower and courage now to extend their hands to one another over everything that has happened, I do not know what may follow.

Refugees Continue To Arrive

PM0512100488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Dec 88 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga report: "Baku—Kirovabad"]

[Text] In the last 24 hours in Baku the tension increased as a result of the continuing influx of refugees of Azerbaijani nationality. On 2 December the number of refugees was more than 78,000. In the districts where they are arriving, staffs have been set up, including representatives of party, soviet, and Komsomol organs and the public. The refugees are placed temporarily in transshipment points, and are then sent to settlement points where temporary housing is being set up and hot food and medical services have been organized for the arrivals.

"The republican government," S. Gasanov, representative of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers and member of the republican commission for refugees, says, "has named 40 districts where refugees will be accommodated. Local party and soviet organs are prepared to receive them."

Our correspondent spoke on the telephone with Major A. Guryev, spokesman for the military commandant of Kirovabad special district, and asked him to describe the situation in Kirovabad.

"The situation in the city is stabilizing, enterprises are working, transport is functioning, and the schoolchildren have returned to their studies, with the exception of the Armenian schools. The main difficulties are associated with the mass influx of refugees from Armenia."

Georgian Supreme Soviet Appoints New KGB Head

NC0312082188 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 0537 GMT 3 Dec 88

[From the review of ZARYA VOSTOKA and MOLODEZH GRUZII]

[Text] The papers publish the decree of the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet on the appointment of Comrade Givi Grigoryevich Gumbaridze as chairman of the KGB of the Georgian SSR.

It is reported that, by a decree of the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, Comrade Aleksey Nikolayevich Inauri has been released from his duties as chairman of the KGB of the Georgian SSR in view of his (?retirement).

Latvian Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

LD0212110588 [Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 0700 GMT on 22 November carries an approximately 11-hour and 20-minute recorded report on the proceedings of the regular session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet held on 22 November.

The meeting opens with a proposal that the session be chaired by Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, due to the illness of Drizul, chairman of the session. The proposal is accepted unanimously.

Gorbunov introduces the items of the agenda:

1. On the state plan for 1989 and the fulfillment of the state plan for 1988

2. On the state budget for 1989 and 1987

3. A report by Valentin Nizhnik, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Industry, on providing footwear to the republic's inhabitants

4. On the USSR draft laws on alterations and amendments to the USSR Constitution and on the election of USSR people's deputies

5. On confirming the Supreme Soviet Presidium's decrees

6. On changes in the composition of the Supreme Soviet's permanent commissions

The deputies indicate that they have no other proposals for the agenda, and, with a show of hands, it is unanimously confirmed.

A proposal is introduced on the work of the session, to last only 1 day, 22 November. It is stated that the morning sitting will be held from 1000 to 1330, and the evening sitting to begin at 1500 and to conclude after all items have been examined. The course of work is confirmed unanimously by a show of hands.

Following a discussion of the first two items on the agenda, Gorbunov says:

"Comrade deputies, before we continue examination of the next question, I, as chairman of the session, elected and appointed by you today, wish to issue a protest concerning the incorrect conduct of Sandra Kalniete and Janis Skapers," members of the Duma of the Latvian Popular Front. Gorbunov continues: "During the break just now, Kalniete and Skapers distributed agitation material right here in the session hall, distributing it around the entire hall, and leaving it on the seats of the deputies. I think that it is necessary to distribute agitation material, but in this case, one must simply have a sense of proportion, and I am therefore issuing a protest as chairman of the session."

After hearing a report on footwear problems, Gorbunov introduces the item on the Constitution and the election of people's deputies, saying that the deputies had probably seen him counting the large number of applications from deputies wishing to speak in the debate, a total of 18 persons. Gorbunov states:

"You, esteemed deputies, have been issued the Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution and proposals. Of course, such resolutions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium do not require the Supreme Soviet's acceptance. However, taking into account the situation that arose while discussing these drafts, we deemed this necessary, and all of us voted in the beginning to examine this question at the session."

"Because you are all aware of the work carried out in this connection by the Supreme Soviet Presidium, I would make the following proposal: Perhaps you will allow me to read to you a brief, 13-minute report.

"You know that a large group, not a large group but a group consting of five persons, including us, was in Moscow at the Supreme Soviet Presidium with these proposals and resolutions. Two of our Latvian State University's doctors of law, Comrade Plotnieks and Comrade Bisers, remained there to work. But Plotnieks has come especially for the session today, to inform us about the work they are carrying out and the progress being made on our proposals. Therefore, I ask that he be allowed to say a word in this connection at the conclusion of my report. And after that, we shall jointly decide how to proceed, how many speakers will be given the floor, and how long the discussion will last."

Gorbunov explains that guests will be allowed to speak only after the deputies have first had an opportunity to take the floor.

Gorbunov asks for deputies' opinions and proposals, and muffled sounds of voices are heard in response. There are no other proposals or objections, and Gorbunov continues:

"Comrade deputies, we are all witnesses to an unaccustomed political activity, a discussion of alterations to the USSR Constitution and election draft laws. Our Supreme Soviet's Presidium has received 13,525 letters, in which 777,000 citizens of the republic have expressed their opinions. Evaluating this as a whole, I would like to say the following:

"Undeniably, many basic ideas of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference on the reform of the political system have been realized in the drafts. In them, the leading role of the soviets of peoples deputies in relation to executive and action organs has been consolidated, the election of people's deputies from among several candidates has been included, and the incompatibility of the status of a deputy with some leading positions in other organs has been laid down. It is also envisaged that officials elected or appointed by soviets of people's deputies cannot occupy their positions for more than two consecutive terms.

"More extensive opportunities have been created for carrying out a deputy's activity within the Supreme Soviet, which will operate on a permament basis, and this must be regarded as positive. In addition, some other proposals for a further democratization of the state and social system have been included in the draft laws.

"Let us, however, be objective. More than 700,000 people have signed resolutions expressing the opinion that the draft laws, as published, are not acceptable, because the resolutions of the 19th party conference on the further development of the republic's independence have not been implemented. But we must hasten to add, for the sake of accuracy and objectivity, that the collection of signatures, in some areas, was conducted in a not very democratic manner.

"There were many complaints and proposals. Therefore, the Supreme Soviet's Presidium did not restrict itself merely to summing them up and sending them to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"The republic adopted a destructive position. The published draft was rejected without an alternative, or, to put it simply, the republic took a stand strictly against the draft but did not offer new proposals.

"Therefore, the Juridical Department of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, together with scientists of the Latvian State University, specialists of the Ministry of Justice, and activists of the Latvian Popular Front, worked out essential proposals for an improvement of the drafts. At a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, there was a general discussion, and the proposals were accepted. These proposals have been published in the press, so that both the deputies and our electors could acquaint themselves with them before our examination.

"We took these proposals to Moscow and we were received by Comrade Lukyanov, candidate member of Politburo of the CPSU and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. We were acquainted with the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's commission and with those changes already made to the existing drafts.

"I would like to report some conclusions to you today, esteemed deputies. First of all, on the resolution of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which is before you today.

"The character of our proposals, despite the fact that they differ essentially from the draft to be discussed throughout the country, concurs, in principle, with the main directions of activity currently pursued by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's commission on improving the draft.

"We were pleasantly surprised in Moscow that some of our proposals had already been included in the new variant of the draft, as reported yesterday in PRAVDA. But to my mind, something else is more important for us today. Today we should find answers, I think, to the following questions:

"First: Can the changes in the USSR Constitution and the new election law ensure an effective activity of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet? This is the first question to which we must find an answer today.

"Second: How, at this highest organ of state power, will the republic's interests be represented?

"And third: What concrete opportunities and guarantees will be ensured for the republic's economic indpendence and sovereignty?

"Perhaps I shall also try to reply, very briefly, to the questions that I have posed, taking into account that you have the Presidium's resolution and proposals.

"So then, about the first one. The success of the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet will, of course, depend first of all on the deputies themselves, on the caliber of the people we shall entrust with the mandate of a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Will they be principled persons, firmly standing in the positions of socialist renewal and able to represent their electors with honor and actively realize the rights accorded to them, which we shall determine in the corrections to the Constitution?

"The opinions here are quite diverse. But, nevertheless, a majority supports the resolutions of the 19th party conference on the formation of the system of the highest state power organs. And perhaps, in this connection, I would like to say the following:

"Do you not yourselves, esteemed deputies, feel that we currently do not fulfill the functions of a parliament? We lack the time for that, and not everybody has the professional skill to do so. But what is positive is that at the Congress of People's Deputies there is envisaged a very broad representation of the people, especially a representation of the workers and peasants. A large number of deputies, during their term in office, will have the opportunity to perform the valuable work of representing the interests of their electors, at a permanently working Supreme Soviet and within its committees and permanent commissions. Because of this, both of these formations should be, to my mind, in the new organ of state power.

"The next question, on the republic's representation within the Supreme Soviet. The initial variant of the draft of USSR Constitution's alterations does not respond to this question, or at least, does not respond fully. Having read this draft, we know only that our republic will be represented within the Soviet of Nationalities by seven deputies. Those union republics, which include autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs, will be represented in this chamber by a larger number of deputies.

"What will it be like with the representation of republics at the Soviet of the Union at the permanent commissions, at the Committee for Constitutional Supervision, at the Central Elections Commission? This has not been tackled in the draft of alterations to the Constitution. Because of this, a statement has been included in the proposals drawn up by the republic's jurists that the representation of union republics within the Soviet of the Union must be determined in the USSR Constitution. In addition, it must also be laid down that the permanent commissions and committees of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Central Elections Commission, and the Committee for Constitutional Supervision must be formed on the basis of equal representation among the union republics.

"We are taking a firm stand on these proposals, because we understand that only in such a manner will we ensure the republic's representation at the highest organ of state power, during the entire period of the deputies' term in office.

"Also, every year, in renewing the Supreme Soviet's composition, we propose a strict regulation of the representation of republics. And we propose that a mechanism be established to determine adherance to this regulation.

"Our republic's proposals concerning the constitutional supervision committee have already been adopted, establishing that one representative from each of the union republics will serve on this committee. The remaining proposals are currently being examined by the commission, which is continuing its work in Moscow. I think that there are certain grounds for a favorable solution, because the proposals were neither rejected nor was another alternative offered.

"And the third question, on the republic's economic independence and sovereignty.

"I probably would not be wrong in saying that it was these questions in the USSR draft laws that caused the negative attitude of our republic's inhabitants toward the draft changes to the USSR Constitution, and the solving of these questions was most essential.

"The Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took into account this stance, and accepted the working group's essential corrections and even conceptual principles by proposing new ones, taking as a basis the resolutions of the 19th party conference on the decentralization of the management of economic and cultural life.

"Many uncertainties were also caused by the fact that after the publication of the drafts in the press, no explanations followed from the commission that had worked out the very same drafts. Now, for example, it is already known to us that the question on a national state system, the USSR authority, and the legal status of the union republics will be examined next year at a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and that only after this will the conceptual legislation be correspondingly reworked, in this field.

"Discussing these problems in Moscow, we ascertained that comrades had already taken into account the republic's proposals, and most of the changes in the initial draft law have been made precisely with regard to the competence of the USSR highest organs of state power.

"I could recount some, only by way of example, of course. For example, in comparison with the initial draft alterations to the Constitution, the authority of the USSR highest organs of state power with respect to determining the USSR composition and structure, resolving internationality questions, and determining special forms of administration in individual regions, has already been expressed in different wording.

"The authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the field of regulating legislation has already been restricted in the improved draft law, which states that these questions are to be tackled only within the framework of the competence of the USSR.

"The extent of the USSR Supreme Soviet's authority to regulate the activities of republican and local organs of power and of public organizations has been determined. The authority of the highest organs of state power, expressed in such a way, gives the freedom of decision and action to the union republics.

"Some more examples could be recounted. However, the essential problem is that in the highest organ of state power, there must be a mechanism through which the republic or the republic's highest organs of state power could fight against any arbitrariness by all-union departments—for example, by utilizing the republic's natural resources, water, and air.

"Unfortunately, by proposing the mechanism and the right of a simplified veto, and, by becoming better acquainted with this problem, we came to the conclusion that a kind of simplified veto can also lead to progressive resolutions at the USSR Supreme Soviet not being adopted. The loser in this respect will be, in the first place, the Baltic republics, because we are proposing those reforms which are not acceptable, it appears, to all republics.

"Therefore, we have our proposals, and we must continue our search, more firmly and resolutely underlining what questions and through what mechanism we can protest against the resolutions of union organs.

"There are also other questions to which we have endeavored to respond in the resolution of the Supreme Soviet Presidium offered to you. Once more, I underline, you and your electors were able to become acquainted with them in the republic's newspapers.

"Something else must be added. There was rather little time for discussion. Many collectives examined the drafts without the proposals of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium.

"After the appearance in the press of the resolution with the proposals of the Supreme Soviet's Presidium, the situation in the republic changed. The larger majority supported them. And we traveled to Moscow with a united platform, as we also announced in our television interview. This platform contained all of our proposals, including the constructive proposals of the Latvian Popular Front.

"And in conclusion, what should I request of you, esteemed deputies?

"First, taking into account that a great many purely organizational problems arose in discussing these alterations, especially in the Fundamental Law and the Constitution, and that in the future, we shall certainly have to make other alterations, and even a new Constitution, as Comrade Medvedev said when speaking here in the republic. There will also be very little time, so I invite you to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that an official commission be formed for drawing up future drafts of alterations and amendments to the USSR Constitution, a commission which includes representatives of the republic.

"Second, adopt today a resolution on forming a commission for working out a new edition of the Latvian SSR Constitution.

"Third, support the proposals submitted by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the draft laws on alterations to the USSR Constitution and on the election of USSR People's deputies, expressing, of course, our own remarks and amendments.

"And in this connection I would perhaps like to say the following. Although some essential proposals of ours have already been taken into account in these drafts in Moscow, there is not yet, however, an official publication. Therefore all our proposals remain in force and we will defend them at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, also with your vote.

"In voting for the proposals of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium we shall also be honest towards our electors, towards those electors who firmly said 'no'. We have developed this bare 'no' through concrete proposals, so that the republic's Supreme Soviet may act in the future as an organ of highest power with full rights in our republic, realizing the will and interests of its electors." This concludes the report of Gorbunov.

The broadcast continues with Doctor of Juridical sciences Prof Andris Plotnieks of the Latvian State University, at present working in Moscow with the commission on draft laws, who gives a detailed account on the recent and present Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium's proposals, on the representation of republics in the supreme organs of USSR State power, and on the principle of consensus among the republics.

After the 15-minute speech by Plotnieks, a commission is elected for the debate on this item. Timofey Lavrentyevich Dushkevich, chairman of the legislative proposals commission of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, speaks next, followed by Latvian Deputy education minister Yanis Aleksandrovich Kaleys, who is followed in turn by People's Artist Vija Artmane.

Artmane says "Esteemed deputies and everybody present here inside, and everybody outside, I fully concur with the previous speakers in the opinions on which we all agree, on the USSR draft constitution, its preparation, and corrections to the draft. But I want to say something else, and I want to ask all of you to understand me.

"(?Well), it possibly would be difficult to find a person whose whole life has been lived in the Soviet era—I am from the Soviet generation, and I have received an extraordinarily large amount of sincerity from people throughout this big country of ours. But I also know that I have received that only because I come from here, from my Baltic, from my republic.

"The present period of life in our country and in the entire world shows to us how much mankind as a whole is interrelated. Comrade Gorbachev's era of openness and restructuring has raised the prestige of our great Soviet country. But, as against any greatness, just as against our multinational Land of the Soviets, there is a great deal of distrust, marking time, and a hope that we would stumble somewhere, thereby disowning our democracy.

"Because of that the era demands that we listen to the opinions of every citizen, of every nationality and nation, respect their interests, understand their worries, and highly evaluate every nation's culture and tradition."

"After a very long period of mistakes, cruelty, and megalomania it is necessary for us to stop and reevaluate anew our people's endeavors for a truly democratic and law-governed state. They want to strengthen anew their belief in human rights, values, and self-respect, and to help in creating a strong, prosperous life of peace in the world on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which have been created by the observance of mutual respect among the peoples.

"All peoples have the right to self-determination, to form their own political, economic, and cultural structure. Every activity which is directed toward a partial or full dismantling of national unity of territory cannot form the basis of a law-governed state.

"All the peoples have an inalienable right to complete freedom, to sovereignty, in order that they themselves can plan the most necessary undertakings which are necessary in their lives, as here, for instance, in ecology and in other fields of the economy.

"Today, in discussing the law on the alterations and amendments to the USSR Constitution, in which all the inhabitants of the republic participate, I want to turn to us, all deputies of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and to the Supreme Soviet as the supreme organ of government, about the recognition of the status of our republic of Latvia as a sovereign state of Latvia in the friendly family of the Soviet peoples. It is very necessary to think, to fight for this, strengthening the prestige of our Land of the Soviets and mutual harmony among our peoples.

"Latvia has always been a multinational country. But every citizen living in Latvia has regarded it as his home, respecting the Latvian language, culture, and assets, which have become the property of people in this land.

"When our great country takes a stand for some colonial country becoming free, we have many humane instructions and demands with regard to the rights of the people, the economy, and respect for spiritual and religious life. Only when the question concerns our own country have we become accustomed to quite frequently forgetting these ideals.

"From this arises my proposal. My electors are Latvians, Russians, Jews, people of many nationalities, workers, doctors, artists, journalists, and ordinary fathers and mothers. If we want to recover our good reputation in the eyes of mankind, in order that Latvia, this beautiful country, will be the pride of the Land of the Soviets, we must not be one of the subordinated countries.

"I have always been proud when I have heard in the world the names of our writers, artists, sportsmen, actors, and scientists. But they are Soviets and frequently they say Russians. Not Latvians. Because of that, many do not even know where Latvia is situated; they do not even know our country.

"We have a country and a people with culture and traditions, which in the course of millenniums have become enriched. These have disappeared and have again become renewed.

"And the last decades have brought a great calamity to our republic. People have perished and will continue to perish. We have ruined our nature, commanded by alien departments, and have wasted state money on senseless, useless products in huge quantities. We have spoiled the relations of people, (?because) of low living, culture of life, and material standards. We have even lost our pride in all of us living together. We ourselves have forgotten our people's history, our cultural history, which is an ancient and unique one. We have done nothing to preserve our ethnic groups, and we have not taught the generations of other origins which have lived in our republic for a long time. We have not properly taught our children. Since the days of the revolution we have permitted huge and irreparable mistakes by dividing people into rich and poor, rather than into diligent and lazy.

"In the question under examination today my proposal is as follows: "The corrections in the USSR Constitution according to principle have to be made in such a way that all USSR laws and normative acts in the Latvian Republic can come into force after being recognized by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and only after a democratic introduction into the republic's constitution, being guided by the republic's characteristics for a renewal of the economy and of the social and public sphere.

"I am saying this despite the fact that, even today, there is a rejection of this proposal in the SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA newspaper. I want to support it, and I want to request the commission which will work on that to deal with it and not to retreat. I appeal to our deputies, and to all inhabitants of Latvia, irrespective of nationality and vocation, to be tolerant and sensible in solving our constitutional questions, devoid of rigid attitudes, even if this requires a longer time than we would wish.

"Nobody will run our republic's life, nobody will run our Latvian nature, our Latvian culture, our Latvian art, if we ourselves cannot do it.

"We still appear rather proud to other people. But this is something like the Russian proverb: A monkey in a fine suit is still a monkey. Thank you."

These speeches are followed by an interval.

Lithuanian 'Unity' Internationalist Group Formed

LD0212110888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Dec 88

[From the central press review]

[Text] Today's newspapers write about events in Estonia and Lithuania. STROITELNAYA GAZETA reported that Unity, [Yedinstvo], a new informal association, has been formed in the Lithuanian SSR. This association, which supports restructuring, announced that it stands for a socialist state based on the rule of law and which supports the Soviet Union, democracy, and glasnost. Unity intends supporting and defending the interests and political rights of all the citizens of Soviet Lithuania, irrespective of their nationality or religion. It is striving to unite people of all nationalities and to resolve common tasks. The founders of the association proclaimed that it follows the principles of Leninist internationalism and that it condemns all manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism.

Recess Announced in Churbanov Trial

LD0212171788 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court is continuing the trial of nine former high-ranking Interior Ministry officiers. All the defendants are accused of accepting large sums of money in bribes and the former first deputy interior minister of the USSR, Yuriy Churbanov, is also charged with abuse of office.

The court examination was completed today.

The open trial has been under way for three months. The court, chaired by Maj.-Gen. Mikhail Marov, and People's Assessors Gen. Vladimir Zhevagin and Gen. Viktor Sizov, heard testimony by the defendants and nearly 200 witnesses.

Some witnesses failed to appear in court for objective reasons. But their evidence was checked by the court and made public during the hearings.

Documents related to the case were thoroughly analysed, protocols and video recordings of the defendants' interrogations were examined.

A recess has been announced in the trial to enable the state prosecutor, assistant to the prosecutor-general of the USSR and senior judiciary adviser Aleksandr Sboyev and defence lawyers to prepare the parties for oral statements.

Efforts To Overcome Sakhalin Cyclone Damage

PM0212142688 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Nov 88 p 6

[Own correspondent S. Glukhov report on Sakhalin Island situation following cyclones, under general heading "The Train Stopped at Midnight..."]

[Text] What is the situation on the island today after the unprecedented onslaught of three cyclones? Unfortunately we do not yet have final figures on the consequences of the natural disaster, and in particular communication has not yet been established with certain settlements. As the CPSU obkom and oblispolkom message to the population of the oblast notes, 525,000 people are in the disaster zone, and the cities of Dolinsk, Gornozavodsk, Chekhov, Tomari, Nevelsk, and Kholmsk remain totally without electricity, and Korsakov and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk partially without. Several mines have ceased coal recovery. A critical situation, it is emphasized, has arisen as regards vital supplies to the population.

Once again, for the umpteenth time, the oblast's national economy proved inadequately prepared for operating in emergency conditions. This applies first and foremost to power supplies, the work of the emergency services, and collaboration among subunits. As V. Belonosov, secretary of the party obkom, stressed at a press conference, there have been cases of departmental egotism, with certain economic managers not allocating people and equipment at the request of the staffs. Alas, civil defense formations also proved inadequate to the task. Thus the Kholmsk civil defense staff was unable promptly to start up its own power generator and radio station.

Yesterday we spoke on the telephone with N. Arsenyev, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom and chairman of the oblast emergency commission. This is what he told us:

"We are taking all the measures in our power to ensure the speediest stabilization of the situation. A ferry has begun to operate between Vanino and Kholmsk, and ships have begun to operate on the freight lines. Nearly everywhere the railroads have been cleared, except for a sector on the east coast, in the region of the settlement of Novoye, where train No 682 is stuck. Trade has the necessary reserves of food, candles, and kerosene—inhabitants of a number of settlements and even half of the oblast center were for several days unable to prepare hot food because of damage to power transmission lines. Let me remind you that 80 percent of main high-voltage lines and a good half of low-voltage lines were put out of action. Power is being supplied from local sources. The ports of Nevelsk, Kholmsk, and Korsakov are receiving electricity from ships, and several cities are finding a way out of the situation with the help of departmental TETS's.'

"And the latest news: Today repair teams have supplied power to the city of Makarov, as well as housing districts in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, admittedly on the basis of time rationing. The first plane has arrived from the mainland with medical supplies—the RSFSR Ministry of Health responded promptly to our appeal. Help has also been promised by the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification. On 1 December we expect 'Bratskgesstroy' mechanized units to arrive in the oblast from Khabarovsk Kray. More than 300 km of power transmission lines have to be restored, which will take several months. An urgent telegram was sent to the USSR Gossnab—we need tonnes of various gages of wire. The emergency commission is working around the clock."

Official Outlines Juvenile Correction Policy

LD0212150188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Excerpt] A meeting with journalists has been held at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. Its theme was the work of internal affairs bodies on humanization of the procedure and conditions of sentences served by minors in educational labor colonies. Our correspondent (Anatoliy Fedorov) invited to the microphone Lt Gen of Internal Services (Ivan Nikiforovich Kotargin), chief of the Main Joint Corrective Directorate.

[Begin recording] [(Fedorov)] (Ivan Nikiforovich), the theme which will be discussed today was once concealed with a certain degree of secrecy. Now is the time of glasnost and democratization of our society and so, to begin our conversation, please provide a few statistical data about the educational labor colonies system of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[(Kotargin)] Up to 1 November of the current year there were more than 28,000 people kept in 88 educational labor colonies. More than 12.5 percent are minors, juveniles of 14-16 years of age. Ten percent are orphans and persons deprived of parental care. A wide complex of measures, which make it possible to conditionally release on parole every year more than 30 percent of those convicted, is being used in the correctional-educational process. Suffice it to say that the actual term of stay in places for deprivation of liberty of minors amounts on average to less than 18 months. Compulsory general education and vocational-technical education of pupils is being carried out in the colonies. Around 2,500 people have received secondary education certificates in the current year. Certificates for graduating from eighth grade had been received by more than 4,000 people. More than 23,000 minors were trained in vocational professions in 1987.

[(Fedorov)] Which professions are these, for example?

[(Kotargin)] A number of building professions, machine-building, metal-working, instrument-making and, in the girls' colony, a sewing profession.

[(Fedorov)] (Ivan Nikiforovich) The resolution of the 19th all-union party conference sets the task of the radical reexamination of correctional labor legislation. What is in this connection being done and what will be done in the educational labor colonies system?

[(Kotargin)] The reform which is under way in the country and the priorities of democracy and glasnost in the development of society have demanded from us a new thinking and a fundamental restructuring of the existing system of carrying out punishment in the form of deprivation of freedom in relation to minors. The center of the organization of educational work is being switched to the general-education school and the vocational-technical college. Priority is being given to psychological and pedagogical methods of influence. In a word, the question has been posed about changing the status of the colonies which we see, first and foremost, as establishments of education and training while at the same time not lessening the role of labor education of those who were convicted. In the process of implementation of the new model proposals were introduced on changing the existing legislation which envisage eliminating the division of the colonies according to the type of regime and depending on the gravity of the crime committed; serving out, as a rule, the whole punishment period in the educational labor colony by the convicted person; and, lastly, a considerable widening of the rights of the inmates of these establishments. We are planning to introduce experimentally in a number of colonies the granting to juveniles the right to prolonged (?meetings). Telephone conversations with parents and short-term trips to visit them, the visiting and participation in mass culture events beyond the boundaries of the establishment, and so on. In other words, we are going to express the experience of Anton Semenovich Makarenko: collectivism, self-management and trust. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Gorbachev, Others Sign Obituary of Artist

PM0112162388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 88 Second Edition p 8

[Obituary of Yevsey Yevseyevich Moiseyenko]

[Excerpts] Soviet art has suffered an irreplaceable loss. Hero of Socialist Labor, USSR People's Artist Yevsey Yevseyevich Moiseyenko, outstanding artist, winner of the Lenin Prize and USSR and RSFSR State Prizes, and full member of the USSR Academy of Arts, has died in his 73d year. [passage omitted]

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, A.S. Kapto, Yu.P. Voronov, V.G. Zakharov, A.D. Lizichev, M.K. Anikushin, A.A. Belyayev, D.S. Bisti, A.V. Vasnetsov, A.Ya. Degtyarev, L.Ye. Kerbel, Yu.K. Korolev, D.S. Likhachev, V.A. Lenyashin, Yu.S. Melentyev, A.A. Mylnikov, B.B. Piotrovskiy, T.T. Salakhov, V.M. Sidorov, B.S. Ugarov, V.Ya. Khodyrev.

Solovyev Attends Funeral

PM0512105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Final Journey"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 2 Dec—Leningraders today bade farewell to their fellow-Leningrader Hero of Socialist Labor Yevsey Yevseyevich Moiseyenko, winner of the USSR and RSFSR Lenin and State Prizes, people's artist of the USSR, and full member of the USSR Academy of Art. [passage omitted]

The honor guard included Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, and cultural figures. [passage omitted]

Amendments Commission's Work Highlighted

PM2111140988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondent M. Kushtapin report under the rubric "Your Opinion? We Discuss the Draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Commission Approves Amendments and Suggestions"]

[Text] The latest session of the deputies' preparatory commission for summing up and examining materials from the nationwide discussion of the draft USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies was held in the Kremlin 18 November.

If all the amendments and clarifications on which the deputies worked were to be summed up, most of them concerned questions of the structure and powers of the new organs of power: The Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet; mutual relations between the USSR and union republics; and procedural questions of elections. There is virtually not a single article in the draft laws which has been overlooked by the nationwide expert opinion, or has not been reinterpreted by specialists taking into account the most diverse opinions and suggestions.

This time too the question of the expediency and need for adopting these particular draft laws was raised once again at the commission. Deputies from Estonia and Latvia briefed commission members on the negative attitude of some strata of these republics' population toward the draft laws under discussion. Since the overwhelming majority of statements do not contain any arguments, the commission instructed its working groups to invite representatives of the Baltic republics, including jurists and leaders of public associations, to attend their sessions and engage in a constructive dialogue so as to objectively and properly discuss all points on which there are differences of opinion.

Out of all the amendments and clarifications which the deputies' commission approved at its session, I would like to single out those which are most frequently encountered in letters from IZVESTIYA readers. "**A citizen of the USSR may be a deputy of only one representative organ of state power, except for chairmen of soviets of people's deputies**"—this is an amendment to Article 96 of the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution. There has been a clarification to Item 2 of Article 108, which caused the greatest number of objections in the Baltic republics. This is how it is formulated in the new edition: "**The adoption of decisions on questions of national-state structure [ustroystvo] within the jurisdiction of the USSR.**" A considerable number of amendments in this section are aimed at creating the conditions necessary for ensuring the autonomy [samostoyatelnost] of republics. As regards the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee, it was proposed that 25 instead of 13 members should be elected to it, in addition to the chairman and deputy chairman, including one member from every union republic. The greatest number of arguments probably center around Article 152. At its last session, the commission introduced an amendment to that article to the effect that people's judges of rayon (city) people's courts should be elected by the appropriate higher-level soviets of people's deputies. At the present session deputies decided that **higher-level soviets should elect people's judges to oblast and kray people's courts as well.** Regarding the draft USSR Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies, the commission suggested that **the restriction on the numerical strength of a labor collective required to empower it to nominate candidate deputies be removed.**

The words "as a rule" have been deleted from many articles.

Supreme Soviet Deputies Resign 'Ahead of Time'

PM3011130488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47 20 Nov 88 p 10

[Andrey Romanov article: "'Crack'"]

[Text] Since the time of the elections of the present members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 138 of its deputies have resigned ahead of time, for various reasons. One deputy was asked to leave for abusing his post. But was he the only person who deserved this?

Infection

Not long ago the readers of the Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Soviet could peruse the Decree "On the early termination of powers of F.S. Sanakoyev, deputy to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet". The Decree was adopted by the Supreme Soviet Presidium on July 27, 1988.

Until April 22 Feliks Sanakoyev, 42, was first secretary of the South Ossetian regional committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. He has been holding this post since 1973. In the Soviet of Nationalities he represented one of the constituencies of his region.

In April, 1988, in Tskhinvali, the capital of the South-Ossetian Autonomous Region, a few dozen people were hospitalized with a diagnosis of typhoid fever. The source of infecton was the neglected municipal water-main. A spontaneous meeting was held in front of the party regional committee building. People spoke of many other disgraceful aspects of communual services: dirty streets, poor supplies, inadequate trade, no place to rest properly. Several families have been standing for more than 20 years in the queue to receive housing, but the local authorities have done nothing. On the other hand, they spent hundreds of thousands of roubles to buy a concert organ and install it in the hall of sessions of the regional Executive Committee.

On April 22 the plenary meeting of the regional committee relieved F.Sanakoyev of his post as first secretary, "in connection with his transfer to another job". However, somewhat later, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia examined the question on serious shortcomings in the socio-economic development of the South- Ossetian Autonomous Region and additional measures to speed it up. Also mentioned were faulty work methods by the leading bodies of the region, parasitic positions, armschair style, the selection of personnel according to the principles of personal devotion, nepotism, replacing elective bodies with party machinery.

After this it would not be surprising to see the deputy responsible for this asked to leave the Soviet, because he failed to justify the trust put in him. However, in the Decree published in the Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Soviet we read that the powers of F.Sanakoyev are terminated in connection with his personal application and on the basis of Article 10 of the USSR Law on the Statute of People's Deputies in the USSR. Under Article 10 a deputy must indicate in his application the circumstances preventing the fulfilment of a deputy's plenary powers.

What were the circumstances pointed out by F. Sanakoyev? Maybe he honestly acknowledged the inability to cope with his duties? Maybe he doubted his moral right to represent the inhabitants of Tskhinvali? Alas, he wrote something different in his application. F. Sanakoyev writes that he had to change the place of his work and his post, in connection with which certain difficulties arose with the fulfilment of a deputy's obligations. Therefore, he asks to consider the question of an early termination of his powers. Well, as far as his place of work and the post are concerned, everything is stated correctly. At present F. Sanakoyev, who lives in Georgia, is first deputy minister of social security in Georgia. But is that the main point?

Here we have to mention one of the "little tricks" in legislation. If a deputy is impeached, the claims on him will inevitably be made public. Under the law the question on impeaching a deputy is discussed and resolved at the meetings of the electors. What's more, the electors may demand more detailed explanations from those who nominated the deputy as well as from the local authorities.

But it is quite different when a deputy's powers are surrendered "in connection with a personal application". In that case a deputy is not obliged to report back to anyone. On a fine morning voters wake up and discover they have no deputy. And there is nobody to be responsible for anything. It is easy to guess that this "crack" is used by those who want to shun accountability to voters. Hence, the legitimate rights and interests of electors are being infringed upon.

But, maybe, F. Sanakoyev is an exception?

'Epidemic'

Together with the Decree on the early termination of Sanakoyev's powers a similar Decree regarding Boris Kevorkov was published. Former First Secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional party committee was expelled from the CPSU on May 31, 1988 at the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan for, as reported by TASS, "serious political mistakes in guidance over the regional party organization, that led to the aggravation of inter-ethnic relations..." Meanwhile, he left the USSR Supreme Soviet not as a result of being impeached by electors but again "by his own request". In his application B. Kevorkov, now consultant at the systematization department of the Ministry of Justice of Azerbaijan, only has written that he permanently lives and works in Baku, maintaining no ties with Nagorno-Karabakh and, therefore, is deprived of any opportunity to contact the voters of his constituency.

It was announced early in 1987 that Boris Goncharenko, first secretary of the Voroshilovgrad regional party committee, is being relieved of his post. It was under his administration that the story of the unlawful arrest of a correspondent of SOVETSKIY SHAKHTER (SOVIET MINER) magazine made a sensation. In due course other gross violations of law in the region, serious failures in the economy, tolerance towards upward distortions of results achieved and other short-comings were also revealed. The first secretary too deserved reproaches for displaying, as a leader, unnecessary explicitness and subjectivism, for reacting oversensitively to criticism. All this was reported in several items published in PRAVDA early in 1987. But at the beginning of 1988 the Bulletin of the USSR Supreme Soviet wrote that the powers of Deputy Goncharenko have been terminated ahead of time. The reason? Again, "in connection with a personal application", which is already familiar to us.

Various publications on the restoration of law and order as well as social justice in Kazakhstan deal with Asanbay Askarov, former first Secretary of the Chimkent regional party committee. They show how, for the sake of a bombastic report to the higher authorities on the fulfilment of the plan, he made collective and state farms deliver fodder and seed grain to the very last kilogram. How he ordered, under the pretext of a 12-flat apartment building, to build a mansion for himself and celebrated guests. How he persecuted those who opposed him, and how sure of his protection were his favourites, including bribetakers and blackmailers. Finally, you'll read in them that the Communists of the primary party organization expelled Askarov from the party. As for the Supreme Soviet, Deputy Askarov managed to leave it without the unnecessary noise, already familiar to us. It may be recalled that 1,500 deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the present convocation were elected early in 1984. At that time Konstantin Chernenko was president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. And from 1985, what one might call an unprecedented "epidemic" of early retirement has begun. Since then, 138 people have left the highest body of state authority "in connection with a personal application". In comparison: only four deputies from the previous convocation left the Supreme Soviet.

Epoch

Among these 138 people I calculated 46 first secretaries of regional party committees, 18 ministers, 6 presidents of the Presidium of the supreme soviets of the union republics, 6 chairmen of the USSR state committees, 5 department heads of the CPSU Central Committee, 5 chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the union republics, 4 first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Union Republics, 2 assistants to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The posts are mentioned as to the time they were elected to the Supreme Soviet. Among the rest of the 138 deputies are also high-ranking officials. As an exception, I can name a house painter, and a dairy worker.

Some of these probably handed in their resignation for valid reasons. These include serious illness, old age, for women—childbirth. Others were compelled by the silent order under which a deputy's mandate has simply become an appendix to certain leading posts. Parting with commanding chairs, these people also vacated their seats as deputies in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Justice must be done to those who, retiring on old-age pension, soberly assessed their strength and left the Supreme Soviet. For sure, not all wrote applications on their own initiative. Some of them did it, say, after corresponding recommendations.

I read with contradictory feelings the list of the names of 138 deputies, which is easily made by leafing through the file of the Bulletin...and the reference-book Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. Well-known names, high posts. A whole already past epoch rises before my eyes. In fact, the point discussed was the USSR Supreme Soviet. What about the supreme soviets of republics and local soviets? They, too, had their own Sanakoyevs, Goncharenkos and Askarovs. These people symbolized the epoch—some for the whole country, others for one district. They did a great deal to make it what it was.

Do we want to repeat old mistakes? Of course, not. Therefore, it is so important to know who correctly bore their responsibility, and who did not. Just as important is knowing whether these mistakes have taught our society a lesson. For this it is necessary that responsibility be accompanied by great openness. So that not only the higher authorities know the details about all the achievements and slips of various deputies ("servants of the people"), because the public, too, must know everything to be able to judge everything properly. They must realize that the assessment of the work of any public figure and statesman ulitimately depends on the opinion of the ordinary people. That there is no crack through which a deputy who is bound to answer many questions could abandon his electors. Without receiving these answers don't we risk repeating old mistakes? Don't we harm the prestige of the power represented by these deputies? Don't we cross off an important and serious lesson from the schedule of the school of democracy, which we all must go through?

Scholar Ponders Debate on Constitution

PM2211155188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Professor V.Ye. Guliyev, chief of a USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law sector, by M. Kushtapin, under the rubric "Interview With Letter in Hand": "The First Step Is Needed"; date, place not given—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] "We, the undersigned, the members of the Pyarnu mobile mechanized column multiethnic collective, unanimously demand that the USSR Supreme Soviet remove from nationwide discussion the USSR draft Laws on Changes and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of People's Deputies of the USSR. The drafts' provisions do not accord with the course enshrined in the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference resolutions of deepening democracy and broadening the rights of the republics."

This letter to IZVESTIYA carries 140 signatures. Our conversation with Professor V.Ye. Guliyev, chief of a USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law sector, began with it.

[Guliyev] Unfortunately, our Pyarnu comrades did not deem it necessary to reveal where precisely and in which specific articles they perceive the draft laws as not corresponding to the 19th party conference resolutions. I personally, for instance, did not find any infringement of democracy or restriction of the rights of the union republics when examining these documents. On the contrary, the essence and spirit of the amendments to the Constitution precisely accord with the real stimulation of democraticization and they are, if you like, the very first, most important steps toward genuine democracy and people's power.

As for questions of sovereignty, in the meantime the drafts under discussion do not touch at all on those constitutional sections directly linked with the USSR's ethnic state structure. As is well known, they will be the main question during the second phase of political reform, the preparations for which have already begun in connection with the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations.

[Kushtapin] All the same, Vladimir Yevgenyevich, it is not only the Pyarnu mobile mechanized column but also the Estonian Popular Front and a definite section of the population in the other Baltic republics who believe that the main danger to the republics' sovereignty is found in Article 108 of the draft, in particular, in its second point, which notes that the adoption of decisions on questions of the USSR's composition is under the exclusive jurisdiction of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. I had occasion to attend a session of the deputies' preparatory commission examining materials from the nationwide discussion, at which Estonian Popular Front representatives generated a heated debate on this item. This prerogative of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies is regarded by some comrades as a camouflaged rejection of Article 73 of the current Constitution.

[Guliyev] First, Article 73 is in no way affected by the draft amendments and, of course, is not being abrogated. A new supreme organ of USSR state power—the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—is being formed. That is why the Constitution needs to stipulate its powers and share out competence between it and the USSR Supreme Soviet, which becomes the constant legislative, executive, and supervisory organ of state power. Who but the congress should now resolve questions of the USSR's composition? For it will represent the country's entire population and will elect from its members the USSR Supreme Soviet, where all the republics will be represented. It is another matter that this item of Article 108 should have been worded more correctly and in a more politic fashion, and then such false interpretations might not have arisen around it. I can propose the following version of this article as an option: "The USSR Congress of People' Deputies determines the composition of the USSR, while respecting (or guaranteeing) nations' right to self-determination."

[Kushtapin] You encounter letters in the editorial mailbag whose authors are fighting to ensure that the USSR Supreme Soviet is elected by voters' direct suffrage and not by deputies at the congress. Many of the draft laws' opponents are inclined to see this as a violation of the democratic principles of people's power and as encroaching upon the republics' interests.

[Guliyev] The roots of the democratism or nondemocratism of particular institutes of state power lie not only in the principles and structures of their system. They lie both in economic conditions and in the population's level of culture, its political development, juridical knowledge, maturity, and civilization. Let us recall the 1936 Constitution. In terms of content it was very democratic, but this did not prevent society from ending up in an abyss of arbitrariness and lawlessness. I reckon that direct elections are not always a good thing, and I subscribe to the opinion of those who support a "two-tier" system for the structure of the USSR and union republic supreme organs of state power as proposed by the draft, because it makes it possible to combine the requisite elements of parliamentarianism (USSR Supreme Soviet) and people's direct democracy (USSR Congress of People's Deputies). Here we return once more to Lenin's concept of a republic of soviets. In my opinion, this congress system should be extended to local soviets. That would galvanize sociopolitical life at the local level and would ensure the monitoring of the activity of every deputy elected by the people in every soviet. As for the republics' representation in the USSR Supreme Soviet, even without direct voting a great deal still depends here on the voters themselves: The congress will elect to the Supreme Soviet only people whom Estonia or Latvia has entrusted with representing and defending their interests as a USSR people's deputy. The qualitative composition of the deputies themselves will guarantee the interests of any republic.

[Kushtapin] Some of the draft laws' critics are more worried by the quantitative aspect of representation in supreme organs of power.

[Guliyev] Well, let's argue from the viewpoint of common sense and political equilibrium. All the republics are represented in the Soviet of Nationalities by an equal number of deputies. But why should this be?—that is the question posed to the representatives of any particular small republic by the Ukrainians or Belorussians, for instance. These republics cannot be compared in terms of territory, economic potential, population, contribution to the common cause, and even in terms of total taxes paid. On the whole I must say that no democracy provides complete equality.

This is the alpha and omega of political science and political history. Formulating the question differently would mean casting doubt on the very federation of the union state and moving toward the positions of a confederation—that is, a maximally decentralized state. This is why any reasonable state must endeavor without fail to ensure that one thing is in equilibrium with the other. The two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities—may serve as an example of such balance. In this connection I would particularly like to single out the following proposal: "The Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet adopt decisions on a number of fundamental questions on the basis of a qualified majority vote." A qualified majority, not just a straight majority vote.

[Kushtapin] A letter from Vilnius. Teacher A. Yanushauskas proposes first adopting a law on changes and additions to the Constitutions of the union republics and then on the basis of this amending and changing the USSR Fundamental Law.

[Guliyev] This path is hardly possible in conditions of the complex and contradictory transitional period in which we live. One must not forget that a serious struggle is under way for restructuring, a struggle between definite social forces and aims.... "Who will win?"—this is no idle question today. Analysis of the specific historical situation, the experience of the first 3 years of restructuring, and the decisions of the 19th party conference—these are what dictate the need for and the promptness of the first phase of political reform. Without the proposed radical renewal of the electoral system and of the organs of power at the central and local levels, the restructuring process may falter and would look like mere cosmetic repair. There's no time to lose: The adoption of amendments to the Constitution is not so much a political, legal, and moral necessity as an economic necessity for the political reconstruction of our life. In short, we must not postpone till some later date the ratification of these draft laws. Delay here would be like death. That is how I would answer our comrades from Pyarnu.

[Kushtapin] In that case, why shouldn't the entire Constitution be brought face to face with the realities of restructuring? This question comes from a letter written by N. Savchenko of Kiev.

[Guliyev] Although the Constitution always contains program provisions, it cannot ever be a program. The Fundamental Law must enshrine the true state of affairs. But the present-day situation in the economy and in a number of other spheres of life is still in a state of flux, still in full swing. Can one or should one rush to cover the process of restructuring with the lid of the Fundamental Law? How can you direct the Constitution to reflect in detail the economic situation when we ourselves have still not sized up very well even the following question: How many forms of property are there in our country? In addition to this, the preparation of extremely important laws on self-management, the rights of public organizations, the press, and others is in full swing. We must adopt them, let them work a bit and look at their social result, make the requisite adjustments, and only then round them off with a constitution. However, M.S. Gorbachev answered this question well in his speech in Orel. I repeat his words to the effect that a cause of such colossal volume and complexity cannot be fulfilled, as the saying goes, at one go. It is inevitable that there will be some stages here. Of course, we should begin by forming truly democratic, broadly representative organs of central power.

Moscow City Soviet Session Held 25 Nov

PM2811092188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Moscow: This Year and Next Year"]

[Excerpts] The seventh session of the Moscow City Soviet of the 20th convocation was held in the capital 25 November. It discussed the plan for the integrated economic and social development of Moscow for 1989 and the progress of fulfillment of this year's plan for the city's development. Moscow City Soviet deputies and representatives of industrial enterprises, scientific establishments, labor collective councils, and public and creative organizations participated actively in the discussion of these topical questions. [passage omitted]

The session also examined the results of the discussion in Moscow of the USSR draft Laws "On Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law)" and "On Election of People's Deputies of the USSR." The decision adopted by the Moscow City Soviet session endorses the general line of the draft laws aimed at the translation into reality of the ideas of the the 19th all-union party conference and the further democratization of society. It was noted that Muscovites regard them as an important stage of the practical implementation of the concept of restructuring, revival of the sovereignty of the soviets as conceived by Lenin, and the establishment of a socialist rule-of-law state. The need to pass the draft laws without delay, taking account of the submitted suggestions and proposals, was emphasized.

Taking part in the work of the session were L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums, USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers, and a number of ministries and departments.

PRAVDA Editorial on Local Party Conferences

PM1711113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Scope for Fresh, Bold Thought. Rayon and City Party Conferences Are Under Way"]

[Text] The report-and-election campaign has entered a new stage—rayon and city party conferences have opened. Communists are continuing to discuss the progress of restructuring, its achievements and shortcomings, and ways to impart greater dynamism and vigor to the renewal of society. It is a discussion which began at the the 19th all-union party conference.

Raykoms and gorkoms are making a tangible contribution to the implementation of the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union conference. The CPSU Central Committee pays cosntant attention to their work. Only recently resolutions on the work of the Kiev city party organization, the Norilsk gorkom, and Leningrad's Vyborgskiy raykom have been adopted. These documents direct all party committees toward radically improving political and organizational work and exhort them to set an example of democratic conduct, collective spirit, and high exactingness.

Rayon and city party organizations are currently conducting a strict and responsible self-examination. This is prompting delegates to analyze the work of their raykom or gorkom in a straightforward, open, and honest way. They must establish whether they are making skillfull use of the forces of party, soviet, and economic organs and trade union and Komsomol organizations to implement the key tasks of the radical economic reform, enhance the people's well-being, and improve ideological work. The spirit of truly Leninist exactingness must reign at conferences everywhere. Only this approach will enable them to clearly define urgent tasks and effective forms and methods of the political leadership of the economy, the social sphere, and culture.

Collective discussions between Communists and nonparty people began in many cities and settlements long before the party conferences opened. Many valuable ideas were born in the course of the report-and-election meetings in party groups and shop and primary party organizations. Many businesslike proposals were put forward during the discussion of the theses of the summary reports which were published in the local press. The raykom and gorkom mailbag is much bigger than it used to be—people are sharing their innermost thoughts and their concern at the situation in various sectors of the national economy and putting forward constructive proposals.

The effectiveness of the work of a raykom or gorkom is today directly connected with the clear separation of the functions of party committees, soviets, and economic organs and the elimination of parallelism and duplication in their work. There must be no "overlap", no supplanting of functions, administration by injunction, or manifestations of technocratism. Has the party committee succeeded in becoming an organ of genuinely political leadership which does not subject other administrative components to petty tutelage or restrict their freedom of action? Is it working creatively, does it keep its finger on the "pulse" of life? Does it carefully study and generalize innovations in practical party work? A clear and truthful answer to all these questions will have to be given to delegates.

The atmosphere at the party conference in Krasnodar Kray's Pavlovskiy Rayon was characterized by discussion. Its prime purpose was to find out to what extent party officials have mastered political methods of leadership. It was noted that they are resolutely renouncing the command style of work and learning to persuade people and to listen to opinions from "below." For instance, they do not "force" the lease contract on people, but try to patiently persuade them of its advantages with good reasoning based on practical experience. The constructive debate has made it possible for the party members to define with precision their immediate and longer-term aims and ways of achieving them.

The keynote report largely sets the tone and standard of businesslike efficiency and exactingness of conferences. If the report is the result of sincere deliberations and a sharp look at real life and its complex problems, then the response to it will also be businesslike. Cold, stereotyped words will not "spark" polemics in the hall. Delegates to the conference in Kokchetav Oblast's Valikhanovskiy Rayon were able to see this for themselves. Instead of a profound analysis of the work of the bureau, the speaker delivered a boring account of basic agricultural production techniques. The "debate" followed the same lines. It also included requests addressed to oblast economic organs. Speakers at the conference in Kustanay Oblast's Semiozernyy Rayon obviously also lacked the "oxygen" necessary for criticism. First Secretary K. Turgumbayev was unstinting with praise, and he got syrupy speeches in return. In general, it was just an exchange of compliments.

The elections of leading party organs must follow new lines; they must take place in the spirit of the demands of restructuring. The 19th all-union party conference recommendation concerning the procedure for the nomination and discussion of candidacies and the inclusion of a greater number of candidates than there are seats in the secret ballot papers is being put into practice. During preparations for conferences party committees must openly and in an atmosphere of broad glasnost consult Communists on their recommendations for the posts in leading organs. Here it is necessary to avoid formalism, ostentatiously playing at democracy, or letting emotions and personal ambitions run riot. Trust must be placed in truly energetic people who enjoy great authority and are able to work with the masses. The practice of electing raykom and gorkom secretaries on the basis of alternative candidacies must be further developed. Unfortunately, these democratic methods are not being put into practice everywhere. So, for instance, at many conferences in Uzbekistan not a single name "above the quota" managed to get onto the secret ballot papers. Worse still, 77 candidacies to raykoms and gorkoms proposed by primary party organizations were "weeded out" by apparatus workers before the opening of the conferences. All secretaries were elected on the basis of a single candidacy. In this way they managed to sidestep a pre-election struggle.

Questions of political education work must be assigned a worthy place in the reports and speeches at conferences. The revolutionary restructuring needs an ideology of renewal. Trust in people, tolerance of unorthodox approaches, goodwill, and competence—these are the key principles of party work in the spiritual sphere. Meanwhile, the PRAVDA mailbag indicates that frequently ideologists are not present where heated discussions take place, where topical questions are critically discussed. The most frequent explanation given for this is the lack of training of party officials. It is necessary to make a scrupulous analysis as to who should be trained, who should be retrained, and to whom it should be suggested that they change their profession. Propaganda cadres must be reinforced with new, fresh forces.

Every party conference must become a school of glasnost and democracy. The press must cover the progress of report-and-election meetings from this angle. Its task is to truthfully convey the atmosphere of the discussion and the questions raised by the delegates and report the decisions which have been adopted. At the same time it must not pass over in silence conferences which take place along the stereotyped lines of former years where delegates take the floor to read out speeches which have been drafted in some office or other. It is impermissible for criticism leveled at raykom and gorkom secretaries to be edited out when speeches are published.

The rayon and city conferences are an important and responsible forum, an exacting review of party ranks. As the first conferences have shown, at many of them broad scope has been provided for fresh, bold thought, and the decisions adopted by delegates are to the point and well reasoned. What we need is more action. The time for action has come. It is action which will make it possible to deepen restructuring and make it irreversible.

Zaykov Opens Construction Workers Meeting 22 Nov

PM2411144388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Improving the Management of Moscow's Construction Complex"]

[Text] The rapid solution of the housing problem is one of the immediate urgent tasks into which the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference channeled the energy of the party and the people. This fully accords with restructuring's line of socially reorienting our economy. Moscow's Communists and workers, together with the entire country, are persistently resolving this task. A conference of the city construction workers' party and economic aktiv that took place 22 November examined the progress in implementing the plan and the opportunities for speeding up the work and overcoming everything impeding its attainment of high end results.

It was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow Party Gorkom, who had visited a number of construction sites and enterprises in the capital's construction industry the day before.

The construction complex's standard of work, he said, fully determines people's social state, for it directly effects the resolution of the food problem, the buildup of goods production, and the solution of the housing problem. That is why construction workers' activity is the constant concern of the city's party organization.

By the year 2000 every Moscow family should have an individual apartment. This means that approximately 50 million square meters of housing will have to be created in 12 years, that is a 33 percent increase in this vast city's existing housing stock.

Life adds most complex problems linked with the retooling of the capital's enterprises, building up subway expansion rates, comprehensively reconstructing the central area of Moscow, modernizing millions of square meters of housing in "5-story" apartment blocks, and increasing construction volumes for schools, children's establishments, stores, and public catering and health enterprises. These problems cannot be fully resolved by the old methods without radical restructuring of the city's entire construction conveyor.

Sessions of the USSR and republic Supreme Soviets ratified the plans for economic and social development for 1989. This question will be discussed 25 November at a session of the Moscow Soviet.

That is why the time for holding the conference was also picked so that everything that is impeding a substantial increase in the effectiveness of Moscow construction subunits' work could be taken into consideration and, what is more, eliminated.

A fundamental point was noted: The Moscow Construction Committee—a central link in the new general system of economic management—was set up to improve management of the capital's construction complex. It has been operating for 7 months now and has been given the functions of Moscow's general developer.

Summing up his impressions from his conversations in labor collectives, L.N. Zaykov stressed that the state of affairs in many areas is complex, especially at sociocultural and domestic sites. Construction workers, he went on to say, like all Soviet people, are firmly behind restructuring and realize the full complexity and importance of the tasks that must be resolved.

However, something else has also become clear—people are rightly concerned at the slow transition at the organizations where they work directly from the administrative-edict methods to economic methods of leadership. Labor collective councils are also slow to develop.

Conclusions must be drawn from this, above all by construction subunits' party organizations and the leaders of production. Demands on leading cadres and Communists are now particularly high.

Then Yu.A. Shilobreyev, deputy chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom, and P.S. Surov, chairman of Moscow Construction Committee, delivered reports. N.M. Sergachev, team leader at "Mosstroy" Trust No 17 of the "Mosstroy" design and construction association; L.N. Nikolayev, first secretary of Solntsevskiy CPSU Raykom; G.F. Kuzovlev, chairman of Lyublinskiy Rayispolkom; and others, who took part in the exchange of opinions, focused attention on unresolved questions and spoke of the construction workers' desire to fulfill the year's strenuous program and to ensure stable rates of development in the construction complex corresponding to the scale of the tasks set with effective aid and support from party committees.

A thorough investigation of the state of affairs in the city's construction complex, L.N. Zaykov said, when summing up the results of the conference, confirms the common interest in seeking new effective and efficient measures to accelerate the restructuring of the management and organization of construction in the city. Specific proposals have been made to improve planning, to reduce work time, and to boost the quality of the amenities erected. It is important that the reasons for the slowdown in the sector's development have been successfully revealed.

He stressed that the experience of working under new conditions of economic activity and of establishing economic methods of leadership deserves the closest attention. Many proposals were voiced regarding retaining cadres and boosting the prestige of the construction profession.

At the same time the impartial and self-critical discussion also revealed unreadiness among a number of economic leaders to master the new methods of leadership and insufficient skill in acting under conditions of democratization and glasnost. The hopelessly outmoded administrative pressure style of leadership still exerts a pull on some economic cadres.

The burden of previously unresolved questions is still heavy. The low level of planning and poor cooperation between people involved in construction were revealed once again. Losses from bad management and wastefulness are great. Inadmissibly high cadres turnover has an adverse impact on the state of affairs.

Many of these shortcomings are the result of former approaches to the planning and organization of construction production, lack of balance in contracting organizations' capacities, serious gaps in the development of the material and technical base of the construction industry and construction materials, and unsatisfactory working and living conditions for the construction workers themselves.

But the point now is not to discuss the reasons for the omissions and shortcomings. It is necessary to find ways to overcome them most speedily.

On this basis, the Moscow Construction Committee, on whom the pursuit of a unified investment policy and the balanced nature of construction depend, has set concrete tasks. The creation of a construction committee has made it possible to simplify the construction management structure, eliminate intermediary links, and introduce economic accountability [khozraschet] more effectively. Maximum use must be made of these opportunities.

The need was stressed to be guided more strictly in the work of the construction complex by the Law on the State Enterprise and to develop labor collectives' independence and boost their responsibility. Great attention was devoted to the problem of organizing precise cooperation between the Moscow Soviet, the construction committee, and the rayispolkoms as an important condition for improving the work of the entire construction complex.

The capital's construction workers must make much fuller use than before of the USSR Gosstroy's scientific base. Ministries and departments whose construction organizations operate in Moscow must show more concern for the city's needs.

Under present conditions, the own-resources methods is the most realistic and promising way of building up construction volumes. The Moscow Construction Committee must develop it and offer the city's enterprises effective aid in making efficient use of this method.

Construction, L.N. Zayko said in conclusion, is the area by whose status people judge the unity of words and deeds and restructuring. We must constantly remember this.

Senior workers from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan and Gosstroy, and a number of ministries and departments took part in the conference.

Human Rights Faculty Set Up at Moscow Institute

PM2411143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor B. Nazarov, chief of All-Union Juridical Institute's Human Rights Department, by N. Sytezhev: "Their Area Is Human Rights"; date not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow—A human rights department has just been formed at the All-Union Juridical Institute. Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor B. Nazarov has been appointed chief.

[Nazarov] We were faced with the task of writing a primer on human rights and compiling a program for the course "The History, Theory, and Practice of Human Rights." As of February 1989 we will begin to give lectures in this course to fourth-grade students. The department has tried to create an original course rather than duplicating things that are already well known. Specialists from our institute's other departments and scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law helped in this work.

[Sytezhev] How will the program be divided?

[Nazarov] Into five sections: Introduction to the theory of human rights, history of human rights, the main areas of the theory and practice of human rights in the 20th century, human rights guarantees, and international cooperation in this sphere.

[Sytezhev] What do you see as the practical results of your department's activity?

[Nazarov] Above all the training and graduation of human rights specialists. More. The department is already working to defend the interests of individual citizens who have asked it for help. We hope that our experience will come in useful in the future when similar departments are opened in other institutes.

'Dummy Issue' of New Business Magazine Produced

LD0212154988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Summary] A dummy issue of the MOSKOVSKIY BIZNES magazine is out today. The aim is to give guidance to western businessmen about the changes currently taking place in the Soviet economy. The first issue is due out in February 1989. A joint Soviet-Finnish limited liability company has been set up to produce the magazine. It is to be printed in Helsinki, based on Soviet data. The print run will be 5,000 copies and it will not go on general sale. The Finnish print run will be 16,000 copies. Subscriptions can be taken out by writing to the NOVOSTI agency. It is a bimonthly publication. The subscription will cost R43.50. The cost in Finland is 590 marks.

Minister on Periodical Subscription Plan

WA18300133 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 88 Second Edition p 8

[Interview with V.A. Shamshin, USSR minister of communications, by V. Fedotov: "In the Subscribers' Interests"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] **The situation with newspaper and magazine subscriptions for 1989, as everyone knows, was discussed at a USSR Council of Ministers meeting on 19 October. It was noted that great shortcomings and oversights had been permitted in the organization of this matter. In early September, the government sought additional paper resources for next year. However, USSR Minsvyazi and USSR Goskomizdat did not take a sufficiently active stance in implementing the available opportunities in this connection. The USSR government took into consideration the report by the USSR Minister of Communications to the effect that the limitations on subscriptions to virtually all central publications are being lifted. The subscription period has been extended to 15 November 1988.**

Recently, many of the mass information media have discussed the problems with periodical subscriptions. Several general positions were dealt with in the 17 October PRAVDA article "How Much a Newspaper 'Weighs,' or Why USSR Minsvyazi Does Not Like Subscriptions." It was mainly a question of difficulties with delivery service and the need for the more harmonious operation of Soyuzpechat and the mail. Beforehand, our newspaper had studied the reasons for the backwardness of the polygraphic base and the shortage of the bread of culture—paper. Understandably, all of these questions require further development and, perhaps, discussions. The press, including PRAVDA, will most likely have to return to this important problem. Today, we grant a word to V.A. Shamshin, USSR Minister of Communications, who comments on the USSR Council of Ministers decision in a talk with our correspondent.

[Fedotov] **So, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich, my first question is: what is the situation with newspaper and magazine subscriptions today?**

[Shamshin] The criticism which the Council of Ministers meeting directed at us is entirely justified. The situation today is as follows. Already, almost 90 percent of last year's level for central newspaper circulations has been reached, and up to 80 percent of that for republic and local publications. Work is being done at 87,000 communications departments and at all labor collectives, involving about 1.5 million public distributors of the press. Moreover, 170,000 rural postmen, who bring subscriptions to settlements which lack a communications department, as well as to remote farms and pastures, have started to work.

[Fedotov] **The subscription "boom" is particularly large now. After all, any kind of limitations evoke an answering wave...**

[Shamshin] In considering the subscriber's claims, the government has practically found an additional 90,000 tons of paper for the production of newspapers and magazines next year. This made it possible for publishers to increase the circulations of the SEMYA weeklies by 4 million issues, and of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY by half a million, and to establish circulations for the newspapers KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and a number of others in volumes which allow us to open an unlimited subscription to them. After finding additional polygraphic capacities, the publishers approved an increase in circulations for yet another entire series of publications, which now enables us to remove the limitations on subscription to all central newspapers and magazines, with the exception of the magazines ZA RULEM (due to the lack of the requisite polygraphic base) and NASHE NASLEDIYE (the circulation is determined by contract with a foreign company). I think that the Councils of Ministers of Union republics will also find it possible to remove limitations, which have affected a small number of republic and local publications.

The subscription time for 1989 has been extended to 15 November, and communications enterprises are organizing additional jobs. The time period for the operation of the subscription receiving network has been extended.

[Fedotov] **However, is it not so, Vasiliy Aleksandrovich, that these instructions do not apply to the direct implementers and that the latter, as has happened before and is happening even now, will turn down subscribers?**

[Shamshin] Strict control has been established over this, and practical and very rigorous steps are being taken...

[Fedotov] **Now, a few words on the economic aspect of the situation and the combination of subscription and retail trade...**

[Shamshin] Communications enterprises, working under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, are economically interested in the stable growth of the volume of service as a basic factor for raising the material interest for workers and for forming social development and production funds. Today, 93 percent of the circulation of newspapers and magazines is distributed through subscription. This is done by postal workers—580,000 people, including 312,000 postmen. The fact that 91 percent of PRAVDA's circulation is delivered to subscribers throughout the country on the day off requires great efforts and attention on the part of all postal workers. In this regard, one cannot help but agree with the author of the article published in PRAVDA on 17 October. From comparing the capacities and volumes of the work of the postal service and of Soyuzpechat, in my opinion, it is apparent that this task is beyond the latter's capabilities, particularly in rural areas.

PRAVDA justifiably raised the question to the effect that the shortage of newspapers and magazines in kiosks and Soyuzpechat stores is an "intolerable disgrace." We agree with this entirely. However, after all, this is all that is left from the subscriptions according to the allocated publishing house circulations!

Today, the demand for newspapers, distributed through Soyuzpechat kiosks, is barely even being met by one-half, and the demand for magazines, by even less. If a person is sure that he will be able to buy the newspaper or magazine which interests him at a kiosk, he would hardly subscribe to six publications for his family, as he does today. This was also stated in the article. It seems, given the availability of any newspaper or magazine at Soyuzpechat kiosks, in time the share of subscriptions will decrease somewhat, but the total volume of newspapers and magazines, evidently, will grow even further.

For more practical and flexible reaction to reader demand, in my view, it is time to convert to direct contracts between publishing houses and oblast (republic) communications associations. More decisive steps should also be taken to regulate departmental publications, which duplicate each other and often are narrowly specialized. I hope that the USSR Council of Ministers Buro on Social Development, to which the government gave instructions to study the state of affairs with departmental publications, will have its weighty say in this connection, considering in this regard the restructuring of the management organizational structure which is occurring.

Notice to the Reader

Subscription to our newspaper is continuing. The registration of subscriptions is being carried out at every communications department or through public distributors of the press.

Cost of subscription: per year—9 rubles, 24 kopeks; 6 months—4 rubles, 62 kopecks; 3 months—2 rubles, 31 kopeks.

Limitations have been lifted on virtually all central newspapers and sociopolitical and literary-fiction magazines. The government has found an additional 90,000 tons of paper for increasing circulations. Subscription to the periodical will continue until 15 November 1988.

Historian Says 30 Million 'Repressed' by Stalin

LD2511024988 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Memorial Society sees one of its tasks in compiling a list of all who were repressed. According to estimates of the well-known Soviet historian Roy Medvedev, the total number of those repressed from 1927 to 1953 exceeds 30 million people. I would not busy myself with any estimations of the great number of people who fell victim to Stalin's repressions, Roy Medvedev says. There are millions of people who were arrested, shot dead, died of hunger or [were] sent to the north or the east. Many of them were not able to endure tortures and were buried in unknown graves. But since there are no official statistics, we have to deal with approximate estimates, Roy Medvedev says.

Economic

Retail Price Indices To Be Published

PM2911141188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by A. Tarasenko, deputy chief of the AUCCTU Consolidated Department for Social Development Questions: "Inexpensive and of Good Quality"]

[Text] The more extensively that new methods of economic management are introduced into the country's economy, the more clearly we see not only positive advances in production sectors but also problems requiring effective solutions. Enterprises' desire for maximum profits sometimes leads to the point where they seek this by the simplest and easiest route: by unjustifiably raising prices and reducing the production of cheap goods. An erroneous and dangerous path. Who suffers here? All of us, society. But above all those who are particularly in need of social protection measures: elderly people, pensioners, and there are about 50 million of them in our country. Each of them, of course, needs clothing and footwear—comfortable and convenient and at a price which is in keeping with their income level.

But what do we see on the store shelves? Here are the figures for this January through September, which attest that the production of goods for the elderly continues to be cut back. Thus, the volume of production of cheap coats (under R100) was just 56 percent of the production of the same goods for last January through last September. The production of suits costing less than R80 was almost halved while the production of cheap pants and jackets was reduced by 35 and 54 percent, respectively.

The tendency to "wash away" cheap goods and replace them with goods which are expensive and, naturally, more profitable for the producers, emerged some time ago. Back in 1986, at the suggestion of the trade unions, a government resolution was adopted on how light industry enterprises should form their production plans by singling out from the overall volume goods for elderly people within the basic price groups.

Today it must be frankly said that this measure has proved inadequate and ineffective. Enterprises are not seeking to fulfill plans for those articles which are disadvantageous to them, and no exhortations, no orders, no control "from above" help here. Thus, the country's footwear enterprises have literally wrecked last year's program for the production of footwear for the elderly, fulfilling the target for only one of four types of footwear.

Obviously, we will not be able to provide clothing and shoes for 50 million people with the aid of a decree or a directive. What is the way out? It lies in the fact that we should follow the laws of the economy and not act against them. It is essential to interest enterprises economically in the production of cheap goods and make them at least as profitable as more expensive ones.

That is why the country's government recently adopted a decision on encouraging the production of goods for elderly people at socially [sotsialno] low prices. It will be to the advantage of sewn goods, textile, and footwear enterprises to produce them, because as of 1 January 1989 supplements will be introduced to wholesale prices currently in effect—that is, they will receive specific compensation from the state and also (at the AUCCTU's suggestion) from the state social security funds (the size of these supplements is being calculated right now) for each type of article.

Moreover, a list of these goods has been determined and their maximum price has been cited. Thus, **the state order for 1989-90 includes coats and short coats for the elderly whose cost (not counting the cost of the collar) cannot exceed R100; the maximum cost for woollen suits is R80, for dresses R45, and for shirts and raincoats R55 and R65, respectively. The maximum price for boots must not exceed R40, the maximum price for ankle boots must not exceed R15, and summer shoes must not cost more than R8.**

Supplements for wholesale prices while retail prices are kept stable are not the only measures designed to interest enterprises economically in increasing the production of goods for the elderly. It makes them just as profitable as other goods, but that is not enough. The population's demand for good-quality and inexpensive articles is not being satisfied, so their production should be increased more rapidly. That is why one more very important decision has been made. Over the next 2 years enterprises producing goods for the elderly have been authorized to keep the entire profit from the sale of these articles over and above the level reached over the previous year. And the bigger the profit, the bigger the collectives' economic incentive funds. The advantage here is mutual.

Measures have been envisaged for expanding the network of specialized stores selling goods for the elderly and to organize the prior taking of orders for these goods.

Will we thus be able within the next 2-3 years to meet in full our pensioners' requirements for good-quality clothing and footwear? Probably not in full. This problem is too socially acute and too economically complex. But we will be able to eliminate the acuteness of the problem and to satisfy people's requirements if not in full, then at least to a considerable extent. A very great deal depends here on the precise, coordinated work of all interested ministries and departments, production collectives, and soviet and trade union organs locally. This applies particularly to the trade union committees of the light and textile industries. They must explain in the collectives all the importance and responsibility of the task and the point of the supplements and other economic incentives and additional opportunities for improving their financial position by producing cheap, good-quality goods.

And one more important innovation: **The USSR Council of Ministers has instructed the State Committee for Statistics, the USSR State Committee for Prices, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the AUCCTU, and other departments to elaborate and introduce into practice a program of permanent statistical observations of the change in retail prices for consumer goods. It has in mind not only goods for elderly people but also general goods in mass demand. And not only the observation of the dynamics of prices but also the regular provision of information for people through the publication of average retail price indices in the press.**

This fully accords with our ideas about glasnost and democracy. **People must know how, why, and how far prices are changing, how the correlation between prices and incomes is changing, what the ruble's purchasing power is at a given moment, what the living wage is today, and what it will be tomorrow.**

The forthcoming reform of price formation and the measures which the country's government is taking today have a single main aim: **ensuring social justice.** Ensuring that stores stock varied goods—both cheap and expensive—but unfailingly good-quality and convenient goods. Ensuring that the time of shortage finally ends. Ensuring that prices correspond to incomes and incomes to labor. And ensuring that everyone—and primarily children, old people, and invalids—is provided with everything necessary.

Scientific

Underground Nuclear Test Near Novaya Zemlya

LD0412062688 Moscow TASS in English 0622 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—An underground nuclear explosion with a yield of 20 to 150 kilotonnes was conducted in the area of Novaya Zemlya in the Soviet Union at 08.20, Moscow time, on December 4, 1988.

The above-mentioned test was carried out with a view to upgrading military technology.

Further on Status of 'Mir' Space Mission

Cosmonauts Prepare for Return

LD0212151188 Moscow TASS in English 0755 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

"Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are now undergoing special training to adapt their cardiovascular and muscular systems to ground loads. It has become particularly rigorous during the last month in orbit before reentry, scheduled for December 21st, exactly one year after the beginning of their space feat. The previous flight endurance record belonged to Yuriy Romanenko, commander of the second expedition on board the "Mir" orbital station, who remained in outer space for 326 days. A Soviet-French team, including Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien, are working alongside Vladimir Titov, Musa Manarov and Valeriy Polyakov on board the "Mir" station as of November 28.

"During long-term flights cosmonauts daily run five kilometres on a moving platform and ride more than ten kilometres on an ergometric bicycle," it was stated by Anatoliy Grigoryev, director of the Medical Biology Institute of the USSR Ministry of Public Health. "These exercises prevent functional disorders of the cardiovascular system and athrophy of shin muscles which occur in conditions of weightlessness.

"It is particularly important to enhance on the final stretch of the flight the cosmonauts' strength and coordination ability so that they could maintain their posture in conditions of ground gravitation. This is why training on the moving platform constitutes the basis of prophylactical measures during their last month in orbit."

Other exercises are also carried out. The cosmonauts wear special "penguin" gravitation suits almost all the time. The latter are provided with rubber linings which create additional loads on individual groups of muscles during movement. Training is effected also on a special "Chibis" installation with application of negative pressure to the lower part of the body. This increases blood flow to the legs, immitating usual ground gravitation. Water-salt additives are used to retain liquid in the organism and increase the amount of circulation blood.

"The slight changes in Vladimir Titov's and Musa Manarov's weight and shin size do not exceed those recorded in the Yuriy Romanenko's case, and there is no further negative trend. It is necessary for Titov and Manarov to keep up their physical fitness just as effectively now as during the flight as a whole, especially since there are six persons on board the 'Mir' station at present", Anatoliy Grigoryev said.

Space Experiments Detailed

LD0212154588 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 2 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 2 TASS—The Soviet-French crew aboard the orbiting platform Mir is to conduct another series of medical experiments today.

Codenamed Echographie, Physalie and Viminal, they aim to study every aspect of the cosmonauts' physical condition in space flight, including their capacity for work and psychophysiological responses to weightlessness.

Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien, who are to take a space walk, will also have their cardio-vascular systems studied when using a bicycle exerciser.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, holders of the world space endurance record, will work out wearing Chibis pneumatic-vacuum suits as part of preparations for return to earth.

Astrophysics experiments under the Roentgen program are continuing and another four sessions of observations are planned today to watch the supernova in the Large Magellanic Cloud. Recent studies have shown that the supernova's hard X-ray emissions have decreased noticeably as compared with last January. The decline is linked to the decay of radioactive cobalt.

Studies of an X-ray pulsar in the Sails constellation have helped to study the spectrum of its radiation and measure the period of rotation of that neutron star.

Resultant data is being processed at the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of Space Research and at scientific centers in the other countries involved in the Roentgen program.

The flight of the manned complex Mir is proceeding normally.

News Briefing Held From 'Mir'

LD0412213988 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 4 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 4 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov reports from the flight control centre:

This time French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien feels better than during his first space flight aboard the orbital station Salyut-7 in 1982. "Whereas during the previous space mission I was afflicted by space motion sickness, though in a slight form, now I did not feel any sickly sensations," said Jean-Loup Chretien during a televised press conference aboard the Mir station.

The Soviet-French crew made up of Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Jean-Loup Chretien were blasted off aboard the spaceship Soyuz TM-7 from the Baykonur cosmodrome on November 26, and two days later they docked with the Mir station. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working on the station since last December. They were joined by Doctor Valeriy Polyakov last August.

The joint work aboard the Mir station will last to December 21 when Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, on completing their one-year stay in space, will return to the earth together with Jean-Loup Chretien. Volkov, Krikalev and Polyakov will work on the station till late next April when they will be relieved by a new crew.

During their 23-day mission aboard the Mir station, the Soviet-French crew is to perform nine series of experiments to be carried out in about 160 hours of work. The most interesting of them is "Era" providing for a test of an unfolding modular construction some six metres long during a space walkout by Aleksandr Volkov and Jean-Loup Chretien on December 9. The walkout will take some five hours together with air lock operations and a brief rest.

The construction with which the cosmonauts will work, resembles a bundle of brushwood when folded, and a volumetric hexahedral prism when unfolded. In future it can be used for assembling solar storage-battery panels and large antennas.

During the space walkout Volkov and Chretien will also leave on the station's outside surface various materials which will be subjected for six months to solar radiation, deep vacuum and sharp fluctuations of temperature. The crew will also carry out an extensive programme of medical and biological experiments which will continue explorations started during the first Soviet-French flight.

According to Musa Manarov, Vladimir Titov and he feel well. They make especially intensive exercises on the moving platform during the last month before their return to the earth. This is necessary to strengthen muscles for their earthly functions and to avoid a disruption in motion coordination under the conditions of the earth's gravity.

Stolen Isotope-Based Instrument Found Intact

PM0212194788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Dec 88 First Edition p 6

[TASS report under the rubric "Incidents": "Missing Radioactive Object Found"]

[Text] Tashkent, 2 Dec—A. Ospanov, acting chief sanitation physician of the Karakalpak ASSR, today sent a teletype message from Nukus to the effect that the radioactive source whose theft was reported by TASS on 12 November has been found. It was dumped by persons unknown on the roadside in a residential suburb of the autonomous republic's capital.

The GGP-2 gamma densimeter charged by a radioactive cesium isotope is completely intact. Radiation monitoring of the surrounding area has shown that natural background radiation levels have not been exceeded. All's well that ends well.

The first owner of the gamma densimeter was the Syr-Darya Teacher Training Institute, which—so it transpires—did not need it. In 1981 the showroom of the "Soyuzsistemkomplekt" Association undertook to sell it and, unbeknownst to the State Committee for Sanitation Supervision (Gossannadzor), sold it on to Nukus State University. In Nukus the purchase, along with many other instruments, was sent for "storage"—in an unguarded, unfinished, and uncommissioned building. And once again neither the sanitation organs nor the militia were informed about the radioactive source. Is it surprising that students at the adjacent school were attracted by the masses of untouched instruments, ripped off a grating, and gave free rein to their childish curiosity?

While searching for the gamma densimeter doctors were constantly worried that, through ignorance, someone might open the isotope container. Matters were not helped by the local authorities' attempt to keep the incident from the public.

The sanitation and epidemiological service has banned Nukus University from using isotope instruments until it learns to handle modern equipment and bring some order to its accounting for and storage of equipment. The dean of the Nukus State University physics faculty and two staffers from the Experimental Physics Department, who were responsible for the instrument's safekeeping, have been fined by sanitation supervision organs. The guilty parties will also have to face administrative and party proceedings.

Military

Satellite Photos Show Kola Peninsula Naval Base

OW0512094288 Naha OKINAWA TIMES in Japanese 4 Dec 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Text] Satellite photos taken of sites of arms buildup at Soviet naval facilities on the Kola Peninsula bordering Norway were disclosed to the public on 3 December at a symposium for peace (sponsored by Tokai University) held in Tokyo. They showed a secret base for the super-large, nuclear-powered submarine "Typhoon," which carries strategic missiles.

The photos have been obtained by computerizing data gained from France's commercial-purpose, global-observation "Spot" satellite. Tokai University's Information Technology Center and Norway's International Affairs Institute cooperated in this effort, and it is the first time that the existence of military installations on the Kola Peninsula, which the Soviet Union has kept totally secret, has been ascertained so clearly by a private study organization.

Among the photos, which caused concern, were the ones showing the base for the most up-to-date Typhoon-class nuclear submarine (25,00-ton displacement), said to be hiding under the Arctic Sea ice and to have the mission of launching strategic nuclear missiles in the event of a nuclear war. The base is in Zapadnaya Litsa deep in a fjord (gulf) on the Barents Sea near the border with Norway, and its giant floating docks, antiair-attack radar facilities, and other base support installations were clearly visible.

According to Skobe, senior researcher at Norway's International Affairs Institute, the photos also confirm the sea areas which were filled with dirt believed to have come from tunnels dug to build a shelter for the "Typhoon" against an air attack in the event of a war.

It has been discovered also by comparing these photos with other satellite photos taken earlier that a railway network had been extended in the form of a loop during the period from 1986 to 1987. The senior researcher said this supports the fact that the buildup is being continued.

In a photo of Murmansk, the largest naval port on the peninsula where the Soviet Northern Sea Fleet Command is located, a ship believed to be a Kiev- class carrier was observed. Further east on the peninsula, in Gremikha, piers for nuclear sumbarines were seen. They were not there in 1973—another piece of evidence that they were built in the past some years.

Defense Sector Can Aid Civilian Sectors

PM2811162588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Stepanovich Valkov: "The Last Trump Card"; subtitled "We Are Studying this Problem: Why Does V. Kabaidze Have So Few Followers"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ivanovo machine tool builders were the first to enjoy the advantages of the international division of labor. Hard-currency and and political support from consumers—primarily defense complex enterprises—played a large role in enabling V. Kabaidze to perform this maneuver. But the entire machine tool building sector has not taken this path. The leader has remained alone. What's to be done? Yuriy Stepanovich Valkov ponders this question. He recently worked as chief designer at a defense plant. Now he is a pensioner following his third heart attack.

I have known Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaidze for 30 years. From Ryazan, where he was the machine tool plant's chief engineer and equipped all the workshops properly by fair means or foul. A man of the highest integrity and a disinterested person, yet "for mercenary interests" he literally stole equipment at the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry. A tool would arrive and while the bureaucrats were looking into who had placed the order, Kabaidze would shout—"I ordered it!"—and he would have it brought to Ryazan. When the documents were sorted out, the tool was already in position and producing output.

He scoured the entire country for young energetic boys whose motto was: The job first and then the tricks. He smashed our main vice, which was that the designer was under the jurisdiction and diktat of the production workers. Before him, Ryazan's machine tools received no praise. What can you expect of the "DiP" [brand of lathe] series? Yet his boys raised the "DiP" to a decent level and, on the basis of these, **they were the first** to launch the series production of program-controlled machine tools. I remember in the mid-1960's I was sent to France to imitate their experience and the president of the "Alcatel-Graffenstaden" firm located in Strasbourg was amazed: "Why are you coming to us when we've borrowed these ideas from you?"

Lastly, quality. Kabaidze regarded everything from this angle. New high-precision tools are only for finishing operations. Don't for God's sake put them in the basic program! He did not buy imported tools just to fill in the gaps, as was done pretty often in our country, but to cover whole areas—so that they produced a tangible effect. By and large Ryazan began to become renowned under his leadership.

Today Kabaidze's work style is described as enterprising. At the time, however, I remember that Minister A. Kostousov issued him with 18 (!) reprimands in a year. For what? For the same thing for which he was given the Hero's Star years later: Kabaidze laid down his life in order to normalize Soviet machine tool building.

Herein lies the tragedy: The guy works miracles just for the sake of normal work conditions. Yet he did absolutely obvious things that any sensible person is capable of understanding. Several thousand intelligent, talented engineers began at the same time as he and tried to blaze the same trail—and couldn't last the distance: due to heart attacks, strokes, and vodka. A few made the breakthrough. They were the exception. But at what cost?! Reprimands do take their toll.

That is why in response to the newspaper's question as to why V. Kabaidze has so few followers the answer is unequivocal: Because even today no one apart from Kabaidze has normal conditions for normal work. It is not only unreasonable—but also immoral—to demand that people perform massive feats in peacetime.

Defense machine tool building is no exception. We were always in the background: All attention was focused on producing basic equipment. The best equipment was channeled there. As were high-quality subassemblies—while machine tool builders ranged from 10th to 14th on the acceptance ladder. They could not implement their promising developments. I remember that in February 1967 we delivered a screw-cutting lathe and were two steps ahead of the West. But production only got off the ground in 1974 when our competitors had already gotten far ahead. My main administration chief, who is now dead, complained in a friendly fashion: "You must be given something to do, Valkov. God forbid that you invent something else and have to introduce it. You're more trouble then you're worth."

No one ever thought that the present-day situation would arrive whereby we would find ourselves empty-handed. Everyone was worried about the plan—months, quarters, years. Imitations of foreign innovations began to enter the system—it was less trouble.

That is why our machine tool builders—either within the framework of the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry or defense sectors—are unable to cope with the vast tasks of retooling the economy, however hard it may be to acknowledge this. It's beyond them.

What can be done? Where do we begin?

Where did the Germans and the French begin? And the Japanese in particular? After the war they all began with machine tool building. That is, they laid the technical base for future progress. Yet we equipped ourselves first via the German reparations and then from Czechoslovakia while the Czechs were able to maintain a good standard. But with the arrival of the sixties we were firmly tied up in imports from the West.

We must now finally do what we didn't do in the forties and fifties. Will we be able to? I believe we still can. I stress, **still**. Because time is working against us. Another 1 1/2-2 years of pursuing quantity rather than quality and we won't be able to get on our feet by our own efforts.

V. Kabaidze's experience (and that of many other people) shows that we have only learned to produce the "iron" properly—the mechanical part of the machine tool. What is keeping us on a short leash? Electronics, sensors, and electric drive units.

All this is available abroad. But all this is also available in the defense sector! And of a high quality, moreover. Soviet control systems and Soviet sensors ensure that our apparatus docks in space. But "exporting" high-quality subassemblies from the defense sector into machine building causes far greater difficulties than importing them from the West.

The point is that since the late-1930's the production of military hardware has been based on the **pyramid** principle. The apex is the production of a specific military article and the base is the enterprises supplying the initial raw and other materials and subassemblies. Every type of military hardware has its own pyramid and all these pyramids link up with one another—this is insignificant—at the base alone. Rigid technological ties within a pyramid make it possible, where necessary, to produce large arms consignments. This is confirmed by the Great Patriotic War, where this system enabled us to produce more tanks, guns, and aircraft than Germany, despite having a smaller industrial base than the latter.

Since this approach justified itself under emergency conditions, it was also retained for the future. More and more pyramids were constructed for new military hardware. The lion's share of the country's resources was used to erect these pyramids. With no thought of the expense, unique equipment was created for them. That is why the quality of military hardware is incomparable with the output of civil sectors. That is why there are simply no "superfluous" control systems or sensors in the defense sector. If the sector's production capacities are designed to manufacture, say, hundreds of missiles, a corresponding number of control systems are manufactured for them. There is no provision for surpluses.

Today, the pyramid principle is a retarding factor. It does not enable the military-industrial complex—despite its gigantic production and scientific and technical potential—to be the locomotive of scientific and technical progress. I think that tasking defense sectors with the retooling of the processing, food, and light industries is not the only way and, what is more, is not the best way of using its potential. For it is simply impossible to make decent equipment for, say, tanning animal hide by utilizing production lines that manufacture excellent missiles. A special pyramid needs to be created for this. But the country has neither the time nor the resources for that kind of mammoth work—it effectively needs to reproduce the entire world production infrastructure.

The defense sector must, of course, repay its debt to the people. But it is much more reasonable and realistic to demand what it can give rather than what we would like to receive. If we place an order then let it not be for food or textile equipment but for technologies and machine tools for the production of any equipment. Here it will be possible to demand reliability and consumer characteristics of the highest order. For the basic material factors for developing a modern machine tool building base—electronics, sensors, drives, hydraulics, and so on—exist in the defense sector. Moreover there is a vast stock of machine tools that provide the requisite degree of precision. Last and, possibly, most important—there are also the highly skilled cadres.

Only the organization of these individual elements scattered throughout the various sectors and enterprises into a single technological strike force is lacking. But this factor is within our power. We can "cut out" the production sectors from the defense pyramids already constructed—without destroying the latter—and build new structures that can provide machine tool builders with components that are equal in quality to Western models. It is important to hurry, since today's state-of-the-art imported machine tools are becoming obsolete very rapidly. We can still make for ourselves the present set of subassemblies in short supply. But tomorrow, with the next spiral of the scientific and technical revolution, something will necessarily emerge which today we cannot even imagine however hard we try. If we don't shape up our technological lag behind the advanced countries will become insuperable.

I want to be understood correctly: It is not a question of eliminating a routine shortage. We need a competitive economy. This is impossible without a machine tool industry that can compete on the world market. The potential that has been accumulated in the defense complex through the labor and privations of several generations of Soviet people is, as a matter of fact, our last trump card in the competition with the West. If we waste time—this card will be overtrumped tomorrow by a six from any "tiger" or "dragon." If we play our cards right then we will be able to enter the international system of division of labor not as poor "raw material" relations but on an equal basis.

But further resolute steps in economic restructuring are necessary for this. First, a fixed [tverdyy] convertible ruble is needed in order to ensure that Soviet consumers have a chance to choose whether to buy from a foreign supplier or from their own. Protectionism is fatal for us. To a much greater degree than any other in the world our economy suffers from a lack of competition and from the diktat of monopoly suppliers.

Second, we must resolutely wrest the defense sectors away from the state trough. The first step in this direction has been taken: As of 1 January next year the defense complex is also transferring to self-financing and will in theory live off its own resources. Military orders will be paid for by the army itself rather than by the treasury. Thus, our military's appetites will be reduced. The successes of the disarmament policy and the deescalation of the arms race should also have be a telling factor. All this will lead to a considerable lessening of the load on production capacities. Consequently, the defense sector will be forced to look for orders elsewhere. The mechanism of economic accountability [khozraschet] will begin to operate.

Third, it is extremely important to ensure that the mechanism of economic incentive is added to economic coercion. Today anyone who works worse stands to gain: the greater the expenditure the higher the price. But expenditure is the producer's personal affair. The customer is worried by the consumer effect. He is prepared to pay more for a better machine and less for a worse one. If there's demand, prices rise; if not, prices fall.

Of course, in the conditions of an economy monopolized and protected from the influences of the world market free price formation will lead to inflation and soaring prices. But if the ruble is convertible and our borders are open to commodities, competition with Western firms will keep Soviet enterprises within the bounds of honest wages and will force them to work properly.

In turn, Western competitors will be forced to reduce their prices, since there are plenty more fish in the sea.

To achieve this will mean giving everyone who can the opportunity to work as the whole world works. Then, I am sure, design bureaus rather than cooperatives will entice talented young people with a four-figure salary.

But this must all be achieved today. We no longer have any time to lose.